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ABSTRACT

This study examines how schools are organized as social systems and applies concepts and methods used by anthropologists in actual field settings in education. The five objectives established in the study are: (1) develop in-depth ethnographic records of high schools as social systems; (2) diagram the web of networks that make up the social system; (3) chart those relationships that form the networks and determine how their connections are conceptualized; (4) identify and define the learning-related interactions that take place within the system; and (5) identify and codify the rules that define the relationships and structure behavior within and between these networks. This report represents the culmination of a development program in the area of the application of anthropological theory and techniques to the field of education; the findings are published separately. It is hypothesized that while educators have traditionally looked for rules that are control mechanisms that regulate and regularize relationships between the school and the outside world as well, educators might better find the optimal behavior structure of high schools by observing the behavior the rules produce in the school itself. It can be concluded that the school size is an important factor in socialization. Also, the structure of the school determines the ability of any one person within that school to negotiate a role within the system. It becomes apparent that the usual dimensions of school structure are not appropriate as categories within which to examine the social organization of high schools. (SK)

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# SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE HIGH SCHOOL STUDY

(NEG-00-3-0079)

Horace Mann-Lincoln Institute
Teachers College, Columbia University
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SP010 153

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# INTRODUCTION

This is the final report on the Social Organization of the High Schools Project supported under Grant No. NEG-00-3-0079 by the National Institute of Education. The report also represents the culmination of a developmental program in the area of the application of anthropological theory and techniques to the field of education. Ever since 1967, the Horace Mann-Lincoln Institute of Teachers College, Columbia University has been working on the application of field work methods to the study of education in the schools and in other educating institutions. The early phases of this developing program began with a number of evaluation studies in schools and since that time we have expanded to include work in criminal justice, medical and a variety of other educational settings from elementary to higher education. Five major premises have informed this developmental program:

1) Research in and evaluation of educational programs is a complex task which cannot be limited to the measurement and reporting of essentially quantitative outcomes for experimental and control groups using the pre- and post-testing model.

2) Research and evaluation of operational programs in educational settings requires a field rather than laboratory orientation which must seek its methodology from anthropology and sociology as well as psychology

and refine these mthods in an educational context. Moreover, educators and educational consumers--supervisors, teachers, pupils, and parents--must be involved at every stage along with educational specialists, for, in our view, the evaluation of educational programs is in many ways a unique process which must grow out of a fundamental understanding of education as well as competence in research.

3) We proceed from the assumption that while educational programs of the school and the community operate in the real world and thus cannot be manipulated in order to satisfy the canons of controlled experimentation, it is possible to be just as rigorous and just as empirical in field-oriented research and evaluation as in experimental approaches--if the objectives of research are clearly stated and if the methods for the collection of qualitative data are subjected to the same scrutiny and standardization as methods used in quantitative analysis.

4) We have developed a firm commitment to institutional as well as individual behavior modification as the basis for sustained and meaningful change in education.

5) Based on our own experiences as well as observation of a wide variety of social action programs, we are certain that unless such programs are developed out of and re-inform some body of theory, they inevitably fail to become institutionalized and so do not produce lasting change.

In the academic year 1971-72, members of this group along with other faculty and students at Teachers College, undertook a student-faculty seminar to look at how schools are organized A social systems perspective was taken as an alternative to the more traditional views of the school as (a) a series of teaching-learning encounters or (b) as a formal organization which responds to the same mode of organizational analysis as other institutional settings such as business or government. Specifically, we wanted to look at schools as behavioral institutions which operate according to an observable code of rules. In the sense that we were using the notion of "rules" here, we were describing a control mechanism, one which regulates and regularizes relationships between the "school" and the outside world as well as within it. It is this code of rules which keeps the school functioning as a social system and defines relationships within it. It also establishes who is an insider and who is an outsider. Control systems of this sort begin with values which define what is "good" and what is "bad," what is expected and what is condemned. Ultimately, however, social behavior in the school is guided by specific rules which attempt to operationalize these values and apply them to everyday situations. Thus, while values give us some general sense of what is expected, it is the rule which states what actions will be approved and which forbidden.

Taken as a totality, these rules form a code of behavior which members of the groups operating in these settings learn as members of these systems. The code of rules is manifest in their behavior since it defines the equation through which they perceive the objective world and make socially acceptable decisions about how to behave. Since we believe that this code of rules is the key to understanding how social systems operate in schools and other educational settings, the central question addressed by the ethnographic record becomes "What is the code of rules which makes the high school a social system and how do we prepare people to play this game or to change the game." By observing, recording and analyzing these rules, we felt we could define the optimal behavioral structure of the high school.

We hypothesized that while educators have traditionally looked for these rules in the formal constitution of the school, they might better be found by observing the behavior which they produce in the school itself. The transformation of the high school, then, becomes a matter of communicating rules rather than re-formulating organizational charts.

We were also proposing that anthropology can make a major contribution to education by cooperating in the development of a conceptual framework and set of methods for problem identification and data seeking in actual field settings in education.

We also expected that the research would advance theory and method in anthropology. The necessity to generate social models which allow cross-cultural comparison is keenly felt in anthropology today. That such models may be used in the study of complex societies makes it even more essential that analytical tools such as network, set, and social field be developed and related to institutional contexts. A goal in this quest for new analytic tools has been to generate something that rivals kinship diagrams in simplicity and ease of description. We see education as a particularly attractive area in which anthropologists can pursue this search. In education we have a widespread opportunity to describe, analyze and compare a number of role relationships (teacher-pupil, pupil-

pupil, teacher-teacher) which have a wide enough occurrence for such comparative study.

Early in 1972, we decided to embark on a long-term research program which we felt could lead to a re-examination of how schools are organized as social systems rather than as formal or even informal organizations. Essentially, we planned to follow the steps outlined in Table I.

Table I

| |
|---|
| PHASE I<br>April, 1972 - August, 1972 |
| 1. Development of Conceptual Framework (Seminar)<br>2. Development of Preliminary Methodology (Seminar)<br>3. Recruitment of Anthropologists (Seminar)<br>4. Selection of Field Settings |
| PHASE II<br>August, 1972 - October, 1973 |
| 1. Field Research<br>2. Refinement of Conceptual Framework - and Development of Taxonomy<br>3. Testing and Refinement of Methodology<br>4. Preparation of Type-Case Ethnographic Records and Comparative Mode for Anthropological and Educational Audiences |
| PHASE III (N.I.E. Grant)<br>October, 1973 - June, 1975 |
| 1. Fieldwork in Field Site Schools and Communities<br>2. Preparation of Summaries of Individual School Ethnographies<br>3. Preparation of Provisional Training Materials for Educators<br>4. Field Testing of Materials with Practicing Educators<br>5. Redesign and Refinement of Training Materials<br>6. Second Phase Field Testing of Materials with Practicing Administrators<br>7. Final Design of Materials |

We sought and received support from the Ford Foundation for these first two phases. In addition, we anticipated a third phase leading to the development of material and techniques for use in preparing educators and anthropologists involved in education; this later phase required successful completion of Phases I and II, and would be possible only if we had in fact been able to generate considerable interest on the part of both anthropologists and educators in looking at social organization in education.

In September of 1973, we received support from the National Institute of Education for Phase III--the preparation of training materials for educational administrators--and it is this portion of the developmental process which represents the focus of this report. Since, however, the program has been a developing one over the past decade, it is necessary to describe the earlier phases as well as the actual preparation of materials themselves. Thus, while the training materials themselves and the process by which they were developed, evaluated and field tested and redesigned, form the major portion of this report, we have included both materials and concepts which were developed in the first two phases of the program both to make the methods by which the materials were developed more comprehensible and to furnish support for the conclusions and recommendations growing out of Phase III. For the purposes of this report, we have decided to follow the following format:

I. The Problem: an explication of the issues and focus of the research and development process.

II. Review of the Literature: Here we have reviewed the pertinent social science and educational literature which we feel places our program within the perspective of the study of high schools as social systems.

III. Methods: a description of the methods used during the research, analysis and material preparation phases of the program.

IV. Findings: The actual material prepared as an instructional system. Studying Schools as Social Systems: A Manual for Field Research in Education forms the major findings of the study. These are contained in three volumes: Student Materials, Instructors' Manual, and Readings (separate volumes).

V. Evaluator's Report: an evaluator monitored the field testing of the materials and his report is here included.

VI. Conclusions and Recommendations.

VII. Appendices (a separate volume).

## THE PROBLEM

Throughout the phases of the Social Organization of High Schools Program, one major focus has served to define the problems under study: how are schools organized as social systems? In education it has usually been assumed that one describes the model in terms of the formal organization of existing institutional structures, within which we cast a series of roles and so design attendant role behaviors to conform to the functional style which suits the organizational model. We then train people for these roles and, if we feel the need for change, we recast the roles or rearrange them in relation to each other. Thus, despite increasing evidence that more socialization and probably more learning takes place in peer-mediated social systems in the high school, we know little about how social systems within the high school facilitate such learning and nothing about how such systems intersect with the formal organization of the school. In large measure this results from the fact that studies in education have tended to focus on the individual as learner. But we have also failed to look at the social organization of education as a natural setting for learning because most organizational theory and methodology in education comes from a concern with administration and management, and so intersects with the literature on formal organizational analysis. And so, while learning studies focus on students, organizational studies focus on the adults. Such organizational descriptions of schools are presented in a formal organization framework which explains something of how education resembles the bureaucratic structures of business and government, but virtually nothing about how it is organized to facilitate the learner's interface with the organization. Yet current trends in education, such as emphasis on humanistic education, behavior modification, encounter and sensitivity programs, open classrooms and greater peer group reference in governance, have as a major assumption the notion that informal social systems may be the primary facilitators of learning. Although they make these assumptions, their change strategies are often frustrated because they seem compelled to take these new programs and somehow force them into the formal organizational structure of the school and, of course, the structure eventually corrupts the function. Schools, however, like all social institutions, are not fixed monolithic structures, nor are they a series of organizational relationships which can be diagrammed and changed by merely drawing new relational charts. Institutions in our usage, are social systems with well established codes of rules first developed by some and subsequently learned by others seeking to maximize their shared values. What becomes institutionalized in this process is the conversion of human energy and intelligence into a set pattern of social and individual behaviors which are productively efficient in maximizing social goals. A school, viewed as a social system, is a mode of behavior, a structured set of rules of the game which regularizes all activities within that institution. To understand and change it, its code must be deciphered for the process of transformation of institutions is one of communication of codes, not of recasting organizational charts. That is to say, if one would build a better institution or transform an existing one, he must look at the conceptualization and codification of new forms of behavior, not for new organizational arrangements. Viewed in this way, schools are also complex patterns of interrelationship between and among students, teachers and administrators. These patterns determine or delimit much of the interaction which takes place between members of the different groups. The process and content of these interactions is first, a primary component of teaching and learning and second, a highly important part of the socialization process which is much of the latent function performed by schools in our society. In other words, in these interactions students, and adults as well, learn both a variety of pieces of information and a variety of ways of relating to each other. Out of this grows our basic theoretical assumption that if schools are social systems, then members of the system should share a common culture and organize their universe and respond to it in ways which are considered culturally appropriate. The implicit code of rules should then be manifested in their behavior since it defines the equation through which the individuals perceive the objective world of the school and so make culturally acceptable decisions about how to behave. Thus, the central question of the research phase has been: what is the code of rules that describes the social organization of the high school, and which cross-age socialization structures characterize social interaction and communication in that system?

It is at this point, we think, that field research techniques can be most useful because they need not assume any pre-existing structure and can be the means for generating the data for a reconnection between learning environments and social structure in education. This has been one of the major reasons for the growing movement to apply the techniques and conceptual methods of anthropology to educational research. Data generated through these techniques are thought to be valuable for developing organizational change in educational systems that earlier methods could not provide. Educational encounters, whether these occur in formal or informal settings, tend not to repeat laboratory models--if indeed they will submit in some of their respects to satisfactory models at all. There are moments of action and response, fluid and sometimes non-verbal. And, although their caprice can be overstated, the events of teaching and learning do manage to trouble even the most precise, comprehensive research strategies, as anyone who has attempted classroom observation will attest. Throughout the research we have assumed that anthropology can make a major contribution to education by uncovering and analyzing critical parameters of the social organization of schools and by describing them in some fashion which is comprehensible to educators. That, in turn, leads logically to the examination of which types of social networks facilitate which types of learning in group situations. Since ethnographic materials concentrate on examining learning situations as they exist and as they are perceived by students themselves, they should also make a substantial contribution to organizational and administrative redesign of educational institutions. Moreover, they should not preclude the insights developed through behavioral or organizational inquiry, but rather integrate them in what has so far been the missing piece of the puzzle of educational change. Based on these assumptions we established five objectives for the research phase of the social organization of high schools program:

1. to develop in depth ethnographic records of high schools as social systems
2. to diagram the web of networks which make up the social system of the school
3. to chart those relationships which form the nets and to determine how their connections are conceptualized
4. to identify and define the learning related interactions which take place within the system
5. to identify and codify the rules which define the relationships and structure behavior within and between these networks.

Throughout the course of the conceptualization, development, and field research phases of the Social Organization of High Schools Program, a second major area of problem concern has been the question of how to present the results of the research in a manner which informs both research (the development of knowledge) and practice (the use of knowledge). To some extent, our concern here grows out of the demands which are presently being placed on the relatively recent sub-discipline of educational anthropology by educators. While they are fairly recent, these demands are major ones and in many cases include expectations of problem solving and educational utility which are unrealistic given the current level of development of anthropological involvement in educational research and, perhaps even more important, the lack of familiarity with which most educational decision makers have with field research technology and the interpretation of its findings. The relative recency of an organized interest in education by anthropologists has not allowed sufficient time for systematic development of theory and methods among the growing numbers of anthropologists whose primary field of research interest is in the educational system. But equally important is the problem presented by the differences in research style which characterize the quantitative research modes which have been the bases of most educational research and the somewhat different climate which surrounds the qualitative style of field research. In large measure, this results from the nature of field inquiry itself which tends to be holistic, situational, descriptive, analytic, and generally designed to result in a statement of system characteristics rather than of the inevitable association of the elements within the system. Eventually we do produce a typology of systems but any generalizations which can inform practice are dependent upon the analysts' or practitioners' ability to identify his operational system with one of the model system types. Educators, socialized in schools of education to a tradition of educational research which was narrowly deductive and purported to present interrelationships among elements of the system which were conceptually independent of any given situation, have come to expect statements of law-like regularities from research. Such statements do not emerge from ethnographic field studies and techniques and standards of application and operational utility for qualitative data are only slowly beginning to develop. Thus our problem is not just a question of introducing anthropological theory or fieldwork methods or perspectives into educational research, it is also necessary to prepare educational decision makers and students of education as well as educational researchers to understand that anthropological field research and its interpretation and validation operate within a different but equally reliable climate. Answers to these questions of style of presentation and the questions of the problem solving utility of ethnographic field data contain an importance which goes far beyond this particular program. If ethnographic field research is to have any impact in education then such research should have at least the clear potential for eventually informing the decisions made by practitioners. This becomes particularly important if one assumes as we do that education is a unique and complex field which can not be studied as an analogue of business or industry or government but has a unique field of social action which can be identified and subjected to observation and analysis with as much rigor as any other social field. The complexity of that field also means that no single research style, no solutions to problems borrowed from other professional areas, nor any revolutionary new theories from the social or behavioral sciences are going to supply definitive answers to the complex problems of practice in education unless we are able to describe the empirical reality of that social field. From this grows the need to recognize that answers provided by educational research, regardless of the methodology, are usually going to be as complex and ambiguous as the questions raised by practitioners. In order to truly understand and reduce those questions to manageability, it is necessary that educational researchers first learn to see the world as practitioners in order to understand the meanings of objects in that social field and to be able to identify the objects of central concern. It is at this level, we think, that field research methods provide a unique utility to applied professional fields such as education.

There is a third and related problem which continued to produce both theoretical and methodological questions throughout the Social Organization of High Schools Program. As we indicated earlier, we are committed to the belief that field research methods can provide better data on how the schools actually function, as well as serving as a tool for developing models for change in educational systems that earlier methods used alone could not provide. Nonetheless, despite this new interest, conventional research and evaluation procedures in education continue to exploit arbitrary environments, statistical measures, and "problems" in seeking (often basic) information about what goes on in educational encounters and in building knowledge of educational processes and structures. Field research does offer a considerable expertise to traditional educational research in this regard. One distinction often made for field inquiry is that it describes "natural" environments and ground-level behavior. Thus, the descriptive activity of ethnographies should concern what people are observed to do, not simply what people say they are doing or what they claim ought to be done. Certainly it would be difficult to argue that field research is not a venture of considerable worth to the study of schools and of education. But given the current problem-solving emphasis in educational research, there is some question as to whether the ethnographically preferred style of the solitary fieldworker who performs every step in the research process as an individual and our resistance to large scale team research is sufficient to these demands.

This has been a team approach, both intra- and inter-disciplinary; thus, the problem for us has centered on the question: is it possible to mesh the individualistic and highly personalized style of ethnographers with the growing tendency to develop large-scale, multi-disciplinary team research and evaluation ventures in education? To some extent the answer to this question depends upon the developing relationship between education and anthropology. Thus, if the craft of anthropological inquiry applies to educational research, it is also true, however, that a great deal of the anthropology of education still answers mostly the profession of anthropology. Many anthropologists whose primary concerns are the anthropology of education still have a marked tendency to assess their work as anthropologists: they have in their view a prior and fixed commitment to the discipline and to whatever will advance disciplinary interests, theoretical or practical. This is, of course, an important and worthwhile undertaking particularly in view of our previously stated firm conviction that the history of educational innovation and indeed all recent attempts at social remediation indicate so clearly that when social action programs do not grow out of and reinform some body of theory, they seldom produce any institutional change. But if anthropology is to realize its value to education, it must also apply its attention to questions of both theory and utility in education.

## REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

On the general topic of Social Organization of High Schools, there is much literature to be drawn from various areas of research in the social sciences and education. A comprehensive bibliography on the general topic is included at the end of this report. In this section, we will present a review and synthesis of specific materials which have informed our research effort in terms of (a) our conceptual perspective, (b) our research methodology, and (c) our model of school culture.

### Conceptual Perspective

The conceptual perspective of social organization, as we have developed it, derives its origins in social anthropology. Here one finds a theoretical basis for analyzing the social organization of a group as the organization of behavior among its participants. Barth has referred to "transaction as the analytic isolate in the field of social organization" (1966, p. 5). His suggestion is that it is most productive to concentrate on the processual aspect of social life. In this, he follows Radcliffe-Brown:

> . . . the concrete reality with which the social anthropologist is concerned in observation, description, comparison and classification, is not any sort of entity, but a process, the process of social life. . . . The process itself consists of an immense multitude of actions and interrelations of human beings, acting as individuals or in combinations or groups. Amidst the diversity of the particular events there are discoverable regularities, so that it is possible to give statements or descriptions of certain general features of the social life of a selected region. (Radcliffe-Brown, 1952, pp. 3-4)

Barth develops Radcliffe-Brown's statement with a discussion of generative models. In particular he suggests that social anthropologists are of necessity first concerned with describing frequencies. This is not the whole of the process, however.

> Explanation is not achieved by a description of the patterns of regularity, no matter how meticulous and adequate, nor by replacing this description by other abstractions congruent with it, but by exhibiting what makes the pattern, i.e. certain processes (Barth, 1966, p. 2).

It is Barth's intention to . . .

> . . . explore the extent to which patterns of social form can be explained if we assume that they are the cumulative result of a number of separate choices and decisions made by people acting vis-a-vis one another. In other words, that the patterns are generated through processes of interaction and in their form reflect the constraints and incentives under which people act (Barth, 1966, p. 2).

Important to this position is the notion that . . .

> . . . this transformation from constraints and incentives to frequentive patterns of behavior in a population is complex but has a structure of its own (Barth, 1966, p. 2).

This notion of "constraints and incentives" as determinants of behavior is central to our analysis, and we have generated a model which portrays the structure of behavioral patterns in high schools (see Unit I). For our purposes here, it will suffice to note that we are not merely concerned with the formal organizational structure of the school. It is, rather, the organization of behavior among and between the high school's participants, e.g. teacher peer-groups, pupil peer-groups, cross peer-groups including teachers and pupils, etc.

We maintain that this behavior is interactive in nature, that it is influenced but not fully determined by the formal organization of the school. Similarly, behavior patterns of school participants are influenced but not fully determined by extra-institutional (i.e., family or other community institutions) norms and goals of the individual participants. All of these factors are "constraints and incentives" in the ongoing processes of transaction and negotiation among the school's participants. There are other factors involved also. The other individuals present constitute a factor with which actors in social situations must contend. Another factor is the formal charter of an educational organization. The charter is outlined in the organization's formal record; it exists in the heads of individual participants; and it is enforced by the demands of external persons and agencies. The formal charter with all its rules can serve as a constraint or as an incentive and is differentially invoked at the discretion of, and according to the ability of school participants.

Many schemas of complex organizations (such as schools) assume that a change in the formal charter will cause a related, specific change in the organization. Our grounding in social anthropology informs us that this is not always so. Our analytic focus is on what individuals in real situations actually do. As Gluckman has expressed it,

> I am interested, like most social anthropologists, in specifying the folk conceptions of a particular people as clearly as I can and then trying to explain why they are as they are, and how they differ from the folk conceptions of others, . . . (Gluckman, 1969, p. 354 following Moore, 1966).

Even where the formal rules of a situation are well followed (not the case in the schools studied) they are not an adequate description, and certainly not an adequate explanation of its operation.

> Just as the description of a game of cricket is more than a description of its binding rules, so a description of a process of interaction should contain more than a listing of reciprocal obligations. The study of process must be a study of necessary or probable interdependancies which govern the course of events (Barth, 1966, p. 2).

These interdependancies comprise the social organization which we study.

## Research Methodology

A social network is a system of links joining a set of particular individuals. We can represent a network by a diagram, a map in which each person in the social field is represented by a point, and in which lines are drawn between points to indicate when two people are, in one way or another, interacting with one another. The specification of what content is to be defined as such a link is both open and highly important. A link may consist of task instructions, friendship, or any other regular, face-to-face relation between two individuals. It is the links, not the individuals, which make up the network. It may be seen that two different definitions of the content of links may produce very different networks involving very different individuals.

In order to chart a network it is necessary to determine its boundaries. There are two chief conventions in this operation. One is to include all links which have been determined relevant within a certain distance from a given individual or ego; one may speak of a first, second, or a third order network. A link directly between ego and another individual A produces a first order tie. An individual not linked directly to ego but linked to A is in the second order, and so forth. Another convention for network construction is to decide on a criterion of importance. For this one may choose a location if he feels that to be strategically important or a function--say the transmission of drugs, in which the original amount of goods is limited and perishable, or the transmission of money in which quantity may be a measure. Both conventions have been used in the construction of networks for the purposes of this study.

Social networks have been found useful both as methodological techniques and as analytic constructs. In this study, the primary emphasis has been on the former. The difference is between data gathering and interpretation. The construction of networks is immensely valuable as a technique to aid the field observer in discovering the operational system of the social institution such as a high school. It provides the researcher with a framework in which to look at the interactions which are in some way structured, but which do not take place in the pattern of formal groups. What has frequently been called network analysis is, we feel, a further technique of data generation, rather than interpretation. It is an analysis only in the sense of a factor analysis in statistics.

The development of network charts may be both a descriptive and a generative tool. Our usage of the concept is similar to that which has become increasingly current in anthropological literature. In 1954, J. A. Barnes wrote a paper which used the notion of network to help elucidate his ideas of class, kinship, and friendship in the Norwegian community of Bremnes. Barnes described his vision of a network as follows:

> 'each person is, as it were, in touch with a number of people, some of whom are directly in touch with each other and some of whom are not. . . . I find it convenient to talk of a social field of this kind as a network. The image of a net of points some of which

> are joined by lines. The points of the images are people, or sometimes groups, and the lines indicate which people interact with each other.'

Bott has distinguished network from group by saying that whereas in a group "the component individuals make up a larger social whole with common aims, interdependent roles, and a distinctive sub-culture," in network formation, "only some, not all, of the component individuals have social relationships with one another" (Bott, 1957). This is a very important point, but one of the most basic and useful functions of network analysis is to discover the relationships between formal classifications and groups. For example, one may look at a network in terms of its problem-solving function. In the high school, one may see a network in which a student with a problem talks to a teacher who talks to an associate principal who talks to the principal, then reports back to the teacher who reports the solution of the problem to the student. The student may, in fact, have had no contact with the principal in this regard. But, the network, or by some other definitions action-set, has been useful to the student in the solution of his problem. The relative importance or popularity of some teachers with students may depend on the strength of their network ties to administrators and their ability to help in problem-solving situations. These teachers may be very little better, if any, in the classroom than are some of their peers. Thus, classroom observations hardly constitute an accurate gauge of teachers' functions in the school system.

Barnes has described a variety of quite general uses for network analysis.

> The notion of network has been developed in social anthropology to analyze and describe those social processes

> involving links across, rather than within, group and category limits. The interpersonal links that arise out of common group membership are as much part of the total social network as are those that link persons in different groups, and an analysis of action in terms of a network should reveal, among other things, the boundaries and internal structure of groups. While there are other ways of discovering groups, the network concept is indispensible in discussing those situations where, for example, the individual is involved in 'interpersonal relations which cut right across the boundaries of village, sub-caste and lineage.' (Srinivas and Beteille, p. 166) It is appropriate when enduring groups such as parties and factions have not formed, and where individuals are continually required to make choices about whom they should look to for leadership help, information, and guidance. It helps to identify who are leaders and who are followers, or to demonstrate that there is no enduring pattern of leadership (Barnes, 1968).

Moreover, according to Barnes, network analysis is "concerned with choice in social action," with "the problems of why in a specified context a man chooses one course of action rather than another, why and when and how he selects one contact out of many possible and appeals to one principle" (Barnes, 1968). The ability of network analysis to logically explain such situations of choice becomes particularly important in a school. Burnett (Ianni and Storey, 1973) has used egocentric network analysis in her urban anthropological research on seventh grade students in Chicago, exploring their networks of relationships in school and out of school.

The high school has relatively clear boundaries between itself and the outside world. Ronald Corwin, in his discussion of the school as an organization (Hansen and Gerstl, 1967),describes its boundary system as ". . . the demarcation of jurisdictional limits and the identification of members and the maintenance of boundaries." Corwin asserts that a boundary system is one of any organization's elementary properties, and he describes the following process:

> Boundaries are delineated by the jurisdictions of responsibility of members as opposed to non-members. They are based on two distinctions: (a) between insiders and outsiders, and (b) between cooperation and interference" (p. 177).

The high school also has a formal structure which is relatively clear to all member individuals. Frequently in the study of formal organizations, the institution and the behavior of each individual within the institution is described by a system of formally structured statuses and expected roles. In the high school, however, two factors obtain to make this an inadequate system of analysis. First, there is a continual turnover in the population. This results in, at any given time, a number of individuals whose position is not clear. The positions are in process and must be defined. This change of population occurs most obviously among students, but also among teachers and to a lesser extent administrators. This produces a situation of flux with a resulting increase in status ambiguity. The second factor is the large, relatively uniformly defined, populations. That is, according to the formal charter of the school, most teachers are equivalent to each other in rank position and function--in short, status. Most students are equivalent to each other in terms of formal rights and obligations, and formally expected behavior. In anthropological and sociological literature, these formal expectations and rights are referred to as a total status or collection of rights and duties (Linton, 1936), or as a status set (Merton, 1957), or status system (Barnard, in Carver and Sergiovanni, 1969). Barnard outlines some characteristics of status systems which our research affirms:

(a) they are relatively independent of the formal structure of an organization;

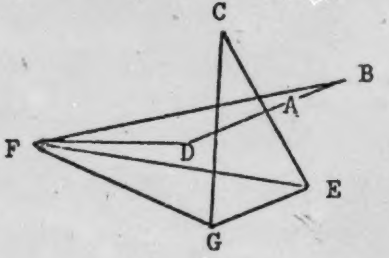
(b) they are "closely related to communications systems, authority systems, etc.; and,

(c) they "arise from differential needs, interests, and capacities" of individual participants in a social organization.

Barnard's last point is an especially crucial one. That individual needs and capacities affect status systems implies that status systems may also be invoked as an incentive in the ongoing processes of transaction and negotiation among participants. In reality, various teachers have different abilities, different relationships with administrators and with each other. Different informal rights and privileges are extended to them, and different behavior may be expected of them. The same is true of students. It becomes important therefore, to have a system of analysis which is adaptable to the study of the continuing formation and realignment of alliances, group affiliations, classifications, and identities.

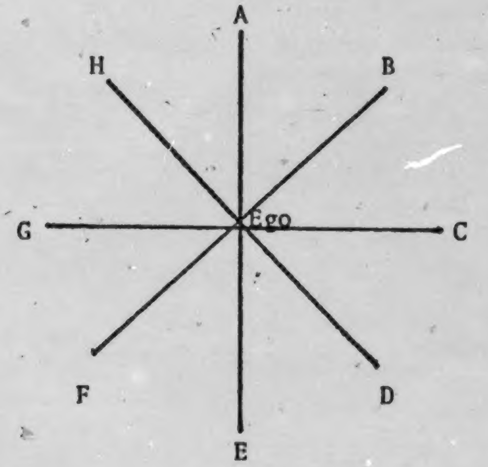
In most social situations, one's formal status is only a parameter of operation and is subject to management and influence. In the school situation, however, this characteristic is greatly amplified by the considerable ambiguity of the statuses. In a kin-based patrilineal society, for example, if one knows that an individual is a male, household head, eldest brother, then one has a certain idea of his function in the society from the total collection of these ascribed statuses. It should of course be noted that one must have a system of explanation where the relations of all of these statuses fit in the society. However, in the school, no matter how well one develops a system for the relation of statuses, one can not adequately deal with the positions and interrelations of individuals without developing another analytic technique that does not depend solely on the formal status structure. Network analysis is one such technique.

As was noted before, there are two basic types of network diagrams which may be drawn which result from two basic definitions of the projected content of network links. These are generally termed egocentric and non-egocentric. A very simple non-egocentric network might be mapped as follows:

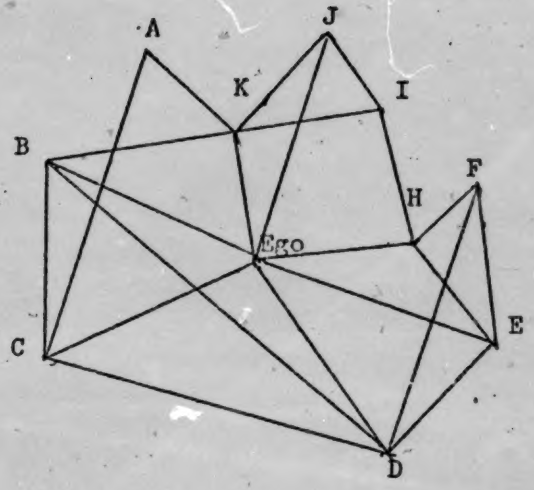


Here, 'G' directly interacts with 'C,' 'E,' and 'F,' but not with 'A,' 'B,' or 'D.' 'A' directly interacts with 'B,' 'C,' 'D,' and 'E,' but not with 'F' or 'G.' Of course network maps may become much more complex than this one, a fact which has prompted Barnes to point out that when the lines crisscross one another often, the "resulting pattern looks slightly like an untidy net and is appropriately called a network." The non-egocentric networks pioneered by Barnes in anthropology are comparable to sociograms used by sociologists to measure social distance in "interaction analysis." For example, Amidon and Flanders (1963) and Amidon and Hunter (1965) have developed processes of observing, counting, and recording events as they occur in a classroom--between teacher and students and among students.

Barnes' early networks were primarily non-egocentric, but as the notion of network became more popular among anthropologists, egocentric networks began to be included in the literature. An egocentric network consists of links drawn to a certain distance in connection from a given individual. It may or may not include a definition such as links of problem solving, or links of economic transition. A very simple egocentric network chart could be called a star (following Mitchell, 1969).



There has been some debate over whether or not to consider such a star a network, but many argued that it constitutes a basic conceptual form. The question centers around whether or not it is necessary to have links to more than one individual to show a network. Nonetheless, one will see action situations where such a star may describe what is going on. Below is a more likely chart, that for a second order egocentric network.



Some members of this network are not directly connected to ego, but all are not more than one intermediary step away. 'I' is connected to ego through 'K,' for example.

In recent research which has built upon the star network and which employs a more highly evolved technique for "describing and analyzing social networks," the tool of network analysis has continued to evolve (Bernard and Killworth, 1973; 1974). And as for the occasional inelegance of the technique, we agree with Barnes who originally pronounced: "We construct analytical tools not because they look beautiful but because we have a job to do with them" (Barnes, 1968).

Network has been popular because numerous anthropologists have discovered that "group," "association," and "community," anthropological terms which have been traditionally used to describe relationships among numbers of people, have failed to yield adequate insight into the phenomena that these anthropologists were trying to understand. Network has been found to be a useful concept for dealing with certain aspects of the modern family, and has been used in situations for the study of urbanization processes. We find it especially important for studying organization in institutions such as schools where formal charters do not adequately describe the system of relationships among individuals.

The formulation of networks in this study has been used for a number of different purposes including ascertaining student friendship patterns, where these friendships were formed, and their relative intensity. Thus, we can gain some understanding of the different groups from which individuals draw their friends. We may also consider the alliances which form among teachers, sometimes competing with other alliances, sometimes ostracizing an individual, sometimes working to gain a particular end from the administration, or communicate particular information about students. We have charted gossip networks among both students and adults in the school community, and we have charted action sets, those networks which deal with particular problem-solving situations. Network, however, is an informal analytic tool. It must be noted that, to some extent, one is gaining network information every time one attempts to discover at what level in the institution a decision was made and how it was communicated to other levels, or from whom any individual gained a certain piece of information. We have found it useful to chart networks where a verbal description of the situation could not be simply and accurately given. We have inquired after and discovered network links continually.

## The High School

> "The school is a social organism;....as a social organism, the school shows an organismic interdependence of its parts;.... the school is a closed system of social interaction." It "is in fact, clearly differentiated from its social milieu. The existence of a school is established by the emergence of a characteristic mode of social interaction." (p. 6)

This early sociological analysis by Waller, (1932), is a seminal work in the study of schools. There have been a number of different types of studies of high schools in the United States and other complex societies. These have fallen into three general categories. Firstly, there are studies of the formal organizational structure as a bureaucratic entity. Secondly, there are studies of the learning process within classrooms. And finally, there are studies of the social structure of the high school. This study falls into the third group. Very briefly, however, let us note the nature of the first two types of studies.

Studies of formal organizations generally concentrate on formal categories as they interact and attempt to formulate the rules, either explicit or implicit, by which this interaction can be understood. Traditionally, such studies have been the result of survey and interview methodologies, although there is no hard and fast rule that this should be so. Possibly because most of our formal organizations have some form of hierarchical structure, a great many studies in this area deal with aspects of behavior related to authority. This is true of both the psychological and sociological literature. The basic research paradigm for studies of this sort is (1) to define a problem or question (i.e. what kinds of authority do teachers recognize?), (2) to adopt a research strategy to answer the question (this usually involves asking a number of questions of participants). These questions range from direct--what kinds of authority do different people have over you? to indirect--who is supposed to determine when lesson plans are turned in?), and interpret the results of the research into a statement about the problem. The questions yield research results which can then be interpreted into a statement about the problem and into hypothetical assertions. The relationship between the research strategy, its results, and the answers to the primary question or problem are often unclear, and must be assumed. It is generally necessary to either assume that individuals in the social situation will be able and willing to give a straightforward and accurate evaluation of the situation, or to use questions on a different level than the ultimate answer one wishes to obtain. The former leaves one with the problem that, say, the authority which teachers recognize, and the authority they obey may be quite different. The latter produces the problem that one must trust the researcher's judgment in abstracting from his lower level questions.

One research strategy which has been widely used is the administration of an instrument known as the Organizational Climate Description Questionnaire (OCDQ). The OCDQ was first advanced by Halpin and Croft (1963) and was used to measure organizational climate or affect in elementary schools. The strategy is based on a systems analysis of certain factors (individuals, their roles, their groups) which interact to influence behavior in a school situation.

Normally, in studies of formal organization, the problem chosen is relatively small, and not itself holistic in approach nor a part of a holistic approach. Thus there have been a number of studies dealing in various ways with the difference between administrative and supervisory authority (Becker, 1953; Bidwell, 1956; Bush, 1962; Chase, 1952; Moyer, 1955; and Sharma, 1955) and relatively little holistic work dealing with the relationship of this authority distinction to the educational institution as an operational system. This problem is gradually being corrected, and hopefully this study will help fill in the gaps.

Though many psychologists have discussed individual relations to formal organizational structure, most of the work done in this area has been done by sociologists and administration researchers. By contrast, most of the research in learning in high schools has been done by psychologists and educators trained in psychological methodology and theory. One of the results of this has been a focus on an individual point of view. Lately, social psychologists have been involved in the study of peer-mediated learning and similar group-oriented studies (see Rosenbaum, 1971). The disciplinary label, nonetheless, is illustrative. The psychological studies have primarily dealt with classrooms (more specifically, teachers) as the unit of research. The teacher is viewed as the instructor, and it is his or her input which is considered important. Where students are the variable under consideration, it is frequently in terms of classification into categories of relationship to the input of the teacher/teaching media. The individual student is discussed as a discrete unit with certain patterns of responsiveness/behavior. Strong consideration is usually not devoted to the interpersonal process. Some recent studies have begun to deal with the effect of variables, such as class size or ethnic identity, with social components. The establishment of the individual as the active unit of inquiry remains clear, however.

Durkheim's original formulation of the distinction between sociology and psychology in terms of unit level still seems valid, even though he probably would suggest concentration of effort on societies rather than institutions as the sociologist's role (1895). The kind of psychological study which is most closely related to this research project is that which focuses on "person/environment interactions expressed in natural, social settings" (Kelly, 1971). That is to say, non-laboratory studies which look at the intersection of the various levels of analysis. One of the most extensive research projects of this variety has been that of the University of Michigan group of James G. Kelly and his colleagues (Kelly, 1966a, 1966b, 1968, 1969 and 1971; Trickett, Kelly and Todd, 1972). This study is representative of the field of psychological studies in that it is aimed toward the explanation of school behavior (in this case "adaptation to their school environment") by references to individual constants external to the school. The individual constants here are the "level of preferences for exploratory behavior." Kelly et. al. do, however, include in the design of their research consideration of the "opportunities for expressing these behaviors at each of the high schools."

In another paper concerning the applications of anthropology to education, B. B. Klief recounts a description of a training program which uses a socio-cultural framework (Klief, 1973). Klief contrasts the orientation of training offered in the traditional teacher-training program with that offered in his. Where the traditional program is oriented toward the psychological concept of each individual pupil as a separate entity, the program described in his report is different in that it

> ". . .stresses viewing the individual as a social product and as a process....The pupil is considered as a social participant, the emphasis of the program being on the classroom as a group rather than as a loose aggregate of 'whole' children standing apart from the teacher."

Hopefully, the present study offers psychological investigators a more thorough understanding of the social field of education--and specifically, of the high school.

Of more immediate relation to this study have been certain sociological studies of high school functioning. Most notable among these are James Coleman's Adolescent Society (1966) and Colin Lacey's Hightown Grammar (1970). In the case of the former the empirical content has provided useful information and leads on the American High School. Lacey's work is on a British school of rather significantly different character, yet it has been a most valuable predecessor to this research project.

Coleman's work (Adolescent Society of 1961 and other reports, 1965, 1968) is not specifically ethnography of high schools. Rather, it employs a variety of methodologies, and (usually) a somewhat different focus. It is concerned with adolescents, rather than with the high school. This is at once broader and narrower. While it attempts to encompass all of the social relations of adolescents, it is not directly involved with the adults in the school, or with the structure of the entire institution of the school except as it affects adolescents. Coleman's work has, however, detailed important considerations regarding styles of interaction among adolescents, particularly in the areas we have called sorting and territoriality. Coleman is primarily concerned in The Adolescent Society to detail the various ways in which students are allocated what he calls 'status,' but which is colloquially referred to as 'respect.' Secondarily, he considers the way in which this influences their education. His methodology consists of questionnaires, informal interviews, and the collection of documentary information such as grades and other school records. His predecessors in this sociological tradition of inquiry are Hollingshead (1949), Gordon (1957) and Conant (1959). While his research is significantly more incisive, it shares with the earlier studies a tendency to develop abstractions before observing the processes of social life in the school.

Lacey's work falls into fairly traditional anthropological descent reckoning. His study of Hightown Grammar was a part of the Manchester Project which set out to study a variety of educational situations in the Manchester vicinity and relate them in various ways to teacher training. The segment of the research which Hightown Grammar itself details is in-depth ethnographic research on the social system of students in the school studied longitudinally. Lacey himself was in the structural position of 'teacher' in the school (which position was eventually little used for identification of field workers in the present study). He developed a model to schematize the passage of students through the school, and his model emphasized the processes of differentiation and polarization. These processes both fall into our classification of sorting. The difference is that Lacey's differentiation refers to how teachers select or sort students, and his polarization refers to how students sort themselves in their own subculture. Although Lacey's research was carried out in a British high school, his analytic model and his methodology, using quantitative indices grounded in qualitative observations, are both extremely valuable for our purposes.

There have been a number of works published in related areas recently. Books such as Seymour Sarason's The Culture of the School and the Problem of Change address themselves to the same general issue of our research effort--social organization in the school--but have significant differences in focus. Sarason is concerned with a variety of different educational institutions for age levels up to the University. His is not primarily a report on new research but a summation of some ten years experience with the Yale Psycho-educational clinic. His information has largely been gathered informally as a part of this interaction. He does, however, provide a number of interesting approaches. His ecological approach is instructive, and within the notion of population exchange can lead thought in valuable directions. Jacquetta Burnett has produced a number of works in the area of ethnographic studies of education. Her "Ceremony, Rites, and Economy in the Student System of an American High School" is an example. She uses the notion of rites de passage as it was developed by Van Gennep, but by looking at minor changes in status which have certain ceremonies attached, she loses the original significance of the concept. She gives relatively little basic data organized into any scheme of analysis.

The literature, then, holds several works related to the social organization of high schools. With the exception of Lacey, however, no researcher seems to have integrated a holistic approach with field methodology and conceptual competence in one work. There is a further problem, or, actually, two faces of one problem. Many studies by educators suffer from a lack of theoretical base; many studies by academic social scientists fail to address themselves to the practical issues in the operation of a high school. Some are questionable on both regards. We conducted our research to produce a combination of a theoretical and methodological base in the social sciences with accessibility and relevance for the practicing educator.

## METHODS AND PROCEDURES

The planning and conceptualization of the Social Organization of High Schools Program began in a faculty-student seminar in 1970 where the central concern was with the development of applications of field research techniques to educational research and evaluation in a wide variety of settings. As a result of that seminar, a group of anthropologists and educators decided to develop a research program which would look at schools as social institutions which operate according to an observable code of rules. We also decided to look at high schools as a starting point both because of the better availability of existing research on high schools as formal organizations and because our own techniques in field research relied on interviewing students which made the high school age-grade more feasible than the elementary school. In addition, we also decided that we would like to take a further step in the development of large-scale team research in ethnography by attempting to study a number of high schools synchronically using teams of senior anthropologists (faculty level) and graduate students.

The first order of procedure, once preliminary planning was completed for the field study, was the selection of field sites. Eventually, we chose three public high schools. One is in a small town, and draws from a catchment area including several rural townships. It has a student population of approximately 700. The second is in an upper middle class suburb of a major city. The suburb is composed chiefly of single family dwellings occupied by commuting executives and their families. It has approximately 600 students. Both of these schools have primarily white protestant with some Roman Catholic students. The suburban school's population is somewhat more demographically similar. The third high school is situated in the "inner-city" of a very dense urban polity. It has some 4400 students of four major ethnic identifications, being black, Puerto Rican, Chinese and white. There are subdivisions within these categories such as those of the speakers of various Chinese dialects and that between Italian Catholics and Jews.

The task of selecting the field sites for the first year of the program is an example of the methodological and operational problems faced in field work, and staff meetings on the selection of criteria for field sites focused on the fact that we are interested in discovering basic patterns of relationships in the high school. Therefore, a good proportion of our discussions at this time centered on whether or not it was possible to describe and select a number of "typical" high school settings in which we could discover "typical" or basic patterns of relationships. We immediately faced the difficulty of defining "typical" as each team member could (and usually did) provide an equally valid (but different) set of characteristics for a typical school. Variables such as socioeconomic characteristics of community, demography, ethnic composition of student and adult populations of school and community, public vs. private school, and school size were discussed in terms of their relative significance in relation to a description of a typical American high school, or rather high schools. After much debate on necessary sample characteristics, we decided that, for the purpose of our research effort, it was inappropriate to dwell on sample characteristics. The word "typical" was quietly dropped (or at least tabled) as we found that it would be impossible and hopefully unnecessary to construct a typology of three typical high schools according to a large number of gross sociological categories. But, although we determined that we could not and need not search for three "typical" or ideal type schools, we realized that it might be possible and profitable to select three schools which would give us some necessary variety, while avoiding obviously extreme situations, by using a set of rather intuitive criteria for selecting field sites. And so we decided that we would initially avoid culturally extreme situations, such as a high school with a totally American Indian or other ethnic population. We realized, however, that it was equally important to get some variety among the three sites in terms of socioeconomic and ethnic characteristics in order to discover basic patterns which operate in school whether they are homogeneous or heterogeneous in adult and student population. So, we decided that one school site should be ethnically and socioeconomically homogeneous in terms of both student and adult population and at least one site must be ethnically heterogeneous and one socioeconomically mixed. In addition, a rural, -suburban, -urban continuum framework was decided upon as was an all public high school sample. Having made these decisions, we then posed another problem which is sometimes overlooked--that is, accessibility of the sites to the research staff.

In an ethnographic study of this type, it is, we think, essential for the fieldworkers to live in the community in which the school site is located. In selecting field sites, we have chosen communities in which it was possible for at least one or more members of each team to find places of residence. This provides the fieldworker with opportunities to participate in community activities which may be particularly significant in relation to school affairs.

Once the team selected criteria for field sites, we faced the problem of finding schools which fulfilled these criteria and gaining the acceptance of school authorities in the schools selected. Due to the large number of high schools in the New York Metropolitan Area, the task of finding appropriate schools at first seemed both easy--a large sample from which we most probably would find what we were looking for--and difficult--with such a large sample, where does one begin? This matter, however, did not concern us as much as the difficulties we expected to encounter in gaining entry to the schools. School administrators as a group are notorious for their reluctance to permit outsiders--be it university researchers, community groups or even parents--to enter and talk with people in the school. Visitors from the "outside world," a euphemism for anyone who is not a staff member or student, are often viewed as the enemy, as people who are primarily interested in causing trouble or changing the status quo. This is especially true of urban schools, where, due to real concerns about physical safety and vandalism, police have been hired to guard doors and even corridors.

Expecting such resistance from the schools, we decided that it would be in our best interest to approach the schools with offers to provide professional services, such as teaching courses or training teachers and students as participant observers, in exchange for their serving as field sites. In this way, our presence in the schools could be justified by more than only a promise to provide the school with a copy of our final report--a treatise which in the eyes of many administrators would perhaps be of questionable use to the school and probably would collect much dust in the school files.

As it happened, we had relatively little difficulty in gaining entry to the schools. In fact, our first choice of schools in the urban, suburban and rural categories accepted our requests to use these as field sites. In each case, we approached the principal of the high school through an outside contact familiar with the school district and principal. The administrators at each school were impressed by our offer to provide professional services, although, as of now in two out of three cases, they have not yet really taken advantage of this exchange offer. Our offers to use pseudonyms for all persons and places described in our reports, thus ensuring privacy and anonymity, were, however, accepted. We have tried to ensure this confidentiality.

For the reporting of the data they gathered, field workers were offered the option of using tape recorders or writing out their notes. Wherever possible the notes were to be made the same day as the observations, in as close as possible a proximity to the actual fieldwork. The notes were then transcribed by a secretary for the use of the study teams. It was suggested that fieldworkers not use recording devices in interactive situations except on special occasions, such as formal interviews. Most fieldworkers attempted to be inconspicuous in the note-taking and wrote or recorded observations immediately after leaving the company of the participants.

A number of techniques were utilized for the actual gathering of data. Participant observation refers to the broad organization of style involved in the study. Some of the specific methodological tools employed in this context include:

Critical Incident Technique: Educational researchers have used "critical incident technique" (CIT) for some time and "event analysis" is in fairly common usage among anthropologists. The differences between the two terms center on degrees of complexity and duration. Which one is used in a study is dependent upon the needs and purposes of the researcher. There are also distinctions made between "microevents" and "macroevents"; this will be explained later.

Flanagan defined incident as "any observable human activity that is sufficiently complete in itself to permit inferences and predictions to be made about the person performing the act." (Flanagan, 1954) His major purpose of using critical incident technique was to develop a statement of critical requirements for the successful performance of a job, e.g. hourly-wage employees at a Delco-Remy plant. Other researchers have utilized CIT for a similar purpose (Kohl, 1968). In addition, CIT has been employed in a number of projects with differing objectives: Zucker evaluated a successfully completed Junior College English program; Corsini and Howard trained novice teachers; Campbell and Markle identified educational problems (Zucker, 1966; Corsini and Howard, 1964).

When one is interested in studying "happenings" or "activities" on a broader scale, the term "event analysis" is used. Burnett employed event description and analysis in the microethnography of urban classrooms. She defined "event" as:

> a segment with certain 'natural' or easily developed sense of integrality to it, and thus perserve(s) what Barker (1963) regards as the primary attribute of the behavior stream--its arrangement in time. . . . An event begins with entry into a specific place by a person, or set of persons, and their engagement there in actions, including interactions. The event ends when the person or at least one complete set of the various sets of persons engaged in behavior, changes his place. . . . (Burnett, 1969)

Burnett notes that the type of event she describes is a "micro-event," but that her unit of description can logically be linked to macro-events of the order of "a festival, a community ceremonial, a health survey or longer and more complex constellations of human behavioral processes and elements" (Burnett, 1969). Similarly, Kimball and Pearsall define "event" as a "series of microevents" (Kimball & Pearsall, 1955).

Sylvia Williams examined a year at Cubberly High School in Palo Alto, California through a penetrating description and analysis of macro-events (Williams, 1970). The formation of an SDS chapter, the publication of an underground newspaper, two student strikes, establishment of a Black Student Union, two student deaths due to overdoses of drugs, and the refusal of tenure to an influential teacher were the situations that provided the insight into the operations of the high school as a political institution, a social organization and a culture.

The events selected for study in the present research effort will be macroevents. They are "critical" events in that they are significant to more than one individual in the school setting. This does not necessarily mean that an event must be a "crisis" in order to qualify as a subject for study. We have described several of the situations or incidents which we have isolated for comparative analysis among the three schools. We feel the situational analysis technique has particular value in providing structurally similar incidents for comparison. Through these incidents it is possible to see both the operation of the various levels of the school hierarchy, and the utility of the analytic scheme we have proposed.

*Network Charting*: In 1954 J. A. Barnes wrote a paper which used the notion of "network" to help elucidate his study of class, kinship and friendship in the Norwegian community of Bremnes. Barnes described his vision of a network as follows:

> Each person is, as it were, in touch with a number of other people, some of whom are directly in touch with each other and some of whom are not . . . I find it convenient to talk of a social field of this kind as a *network*. The image of a net of points some of which are joined by lines. The points of the images are people, or sometimes groups, and the lines indicate which people interact with each other.

This notion of "network" soon became quite popular among anthropologists, who have increasingly incorporated network analysis into their research designs. "Network" has been popular because numerous anthropologists have discovered that "group," "association," and "community," anthropological terms which have been traditionally used to describe relationships among numbers of people, have failed to yield adequate insight into the phenomena that these anthropologists were trying to understand. Bott, for instance, has distinguished "network" from "group" by saying that whereas in a group "the component individuals make up a larger social whole with common aims, interdependent roles, and a distinctive subculture," in network formation, "only some, not all, of the component individuals have social relationships with one another," (Bott, 1957) and has shown how "network" is a more useful concept for dealing with certain aspects of the modern urban family than is either "group" or "community."

Likewise, A. Mayer, and others, have found the notion of "network" particularly helpful in analyzing the features of complex, as opposed to simple, societies. From his extensive study of an election in the Indian electoral district of Dewas, Mayer came away with the expectation that "social relations in simpler societies . . . (are more likely) . . . to be those of common group membership than they are in societies where there is a greater scatter of roles"; (Mayer, 1966) which led him to make the following suggestion:

> It may well be that, as social anthropologists become more interested in complex societies, and as the simpler societies themselves become more complex, an increasing amount of work will be based on ego-centered entities such as action-sets and quasi groups, entities the definitions of which arise out of the analysis of social networks rather than of groups and sub-groups. (Mayer, 1966)

Barnes has described a variety of quite general uses for network analysis:

> The notion of network has been developed in social anthropology to analyze and describe those social processes involving links across, rather than within, group and category limits. The interpersonal links that arise out of common group membership are as much part of the total social network as are those that link persons in different groups, and an analysis of action in terms of a network should reveal, among other things, the boundaries and internal structure of groups. While there are other ways of discovering groups, the network concept is indispensable in discussing those situations where, for example, the individual is involved in "interpersonal relations which cut right across the boundaries of village, sub-caste and lineage" (Srinivas and Beteille, p. 166). It is appropriate when enduring groups such as parties and factions have not formed, and where individuals are continually required to make choices about whom they should look to for leadership, help, information, and guidance. It helps to identify who are leaders and who are followers or to demonstrate that there is no enduring pattern of leadership (Barnes, 1968).

Moreover, according to Barnes, network analysis is "concerned with choice in social action," with "the problems of why in a specified context a man chooses one course of action rather than another, why and when and how he selects one contact out of many possible and appeals to one principle rather than to others" (Barnes, 1968).

The specific contexts to which network analysis has been applied are both numerous and various. Among these have been "political processes, social classes, the relationship of a market to its hinterland, the provision of services and the circulation of goods and information in unstructured social environments, the maintenance of values and norms by gossip, (and) structural differences between tribal, rural, and urban societies" (Barnes, 1968).

In our research, fieldworkers charted operational networks for certain crises situations in the schools in attempts to discover the active affiliations and alliances involved. Informal networks were charted to assess the operation of classificatory units as quasi-groups. Most of the networks which were used on their own in analysis are egocentric student and, less often, teacher networks.

Member studies: Frequently the field researchers were able to get reports from regular members of the school populations--students, teachers, and administrators--about the operation of the institution. These range from brief descriptions of particular incidents, to observation and recording of interactions to the background of social networks to seating charts kept for classes. Some of these reports are simply informational, some have the added value of including interpretations suggestive of the view the reporter held of the situation.

Day in the life Reports: One way in which to view a social process is to try and isolate those occurrences which affect any particular individual. Accordingly, fieldworkers would sometimes follow a particular participant around for an entire school day, recording the interactions in which the individual engaged, and the course of events in which he was involved. In this way it became possible to view the role of the individual in a processual dimension rather than simply as a static adjunct to status. Researches of this kind were conducted for students, teachers and administrators on a number of occasions.

Space observation: Fieldworkers sometimes would take up a position in order to observe a certain territorial area, and then remain there for a length of time. In this way it was possible to observe the territorial organization of the social situations' members. The space involved might be a classroom, lounge, rest room, hallway or even the front steps of the school. This technique developed important knowledge both about the intracategorical relations (students vis-a-vis students) and inter-hierarchical interactions.

Indexing and Categorizing

A few weeks after we entered the field the problem of classifying our data for retrieval purposes confronted us. The fact that we were a team and that each fieldworker's notes were somewhat opaque to the others, the fact that the total organization of the project was based on a strict division between collection and analysis, prevented us from choosing a system of "constant analysis" which would have eliminated the need for going back to early notes. We were thus forced to devise a retrieval process that would be least constrictive from the point of view of the analysis to come and would still be precise enough to be useful. This system could only work on the bibliographic process of indexation.

From the beginning we had to reject any system that was designed primarily for quantitative analysis. We were not going to count occurrences but to analyze the content of occurrences in order to discover recurring patterns and structures, seeking patterns which formed a consistent system in which each element interacted with other elements to form a whole different from any of the parts. Levi-Strauss made this theoretical point more precise by saying that an anthropologist is not interested in elements but in the relation between elements. An adequate anthropological analysis does not consist of a description of element A in itself as an absolute substance with a set of unchanging cultural qualities. It consists rather in an analysis of the ensemble of elements A, B, C of which A is but a unit. From this point of view, A does not have absolute qualities for A is different whether it appears with B and C or with X and Z. We can say in general terms that A, B, C or A, X, Z are a "structure" and that B, C or X, Z are different contexts to element A. In both contexts, the unit A remains physically the same. It can consist of "patrilateral cross-cousin marriage among chiefly families," or "universal suffrage." What changes is the cultural meaning. Thus "patrilateral cross-cousin marriage" is different whether it takes place among the Trobriand or elsewhere. "Universal suffrage" is not culturally the same whether it takes place in Russia or in the United States.

We were, of course, interested in cultural meaning and thus in the context of elements, institutions, ideas, interactions, etc. It is not how often a certain type of interaction has taken place that counts, but the fact that this type of interaction did take place within a particular context of other interactions. The problem is thus one of retrieving the context of the event, and it is a different problem from retrieving the fact that this event has even occurred once or many times which is what a numerically oriented system will do. A system that tells us how many times an event has occurred can not tell us when and where it happened each time and this is what, we would guess, interests us most. Thus, the problem of retrieving the data is one of retrieving the context. Within a few hundred, or thousand, pages of field notes one must be able to go back and find all the places where love, happiness, and fun have occurred, read those passages back, compare one to the other. Eventually, by abstracting those different contexts, one can arrive at a general type context in which one can predict where specific behaviors and social relationships will occur.

We believe that this contextual, structural approach is central to all works in cultural anthropology from Ruth Benedict's Patterns of Culture to Claude Levi-Strauss' Mythologiques. But within anthropology very little has been done to systematize operationally a methodology directly derived from these theoretical premises.

In Mythologiques, Levi-Strauss uses an analytic method to examine a set of texts (in this particular case several hundred myths from American Indian mythology) which is basically similar to the one we used. He analyzes them in terms one of the other so that each additional analysis draws from preceeding analyses and enriches them. Each myth is broken down into the events which make the story. Contexts of events, or "structures," are built and compared with other such contexts and structures. The methodological problem was thus one of breaking the myths down to their component parts and organizing the whole body of texts so that one could retrieve relevant similar contexts in certain myths and compare them to the same or different contexts in other myths. Unhappily, Levi-Strauss does not tell us much about the details of his methodology, but we can easily recognize what it entails.

The indexing problem and the analysis problem can thus not be separated. It is only because of our decision to use a certain mode of analysis that an indexing system can be defended. Thus, the indexing system could not be based on the idea of isolating sui generis categories which it would be our goal to describe in their totality. Our constraints were: 1) our categories had to be an expression of something in which the natives "believed," and 2) what would be filed under the category had to give us a series of context which we could analyze in a way altogether similar to the one used by someone like Levi-Strauss.

Our first step was thus to read the field notes and index them according to however many categories seemed to emerge from them. They ranged from "principal relationship with vice-principal" to "Sheffield (one of our field sites) as a 'white island'" to "smoking in the bathrooms." These categories are all native categories and not theoretical ones. We are not interested in comparing the performance of this particular principal to what an "ideal principal" should be from the point of view of educational administration theory; we are interested in discovering what a principal is to the natives, what are his rights and duties, how he deals with other people, and so on.

Our second step, which we have not taken yet but for which the indexing system was specifically designed, was the summary of the content of each category. By their very nature as indexing categories, the content of each file is highly heterogeneous, having been produced at different times by different fieldworkers. It would thus be difficult to use them without first making them pass through a process of unification of style.

This is of course what cultural anthropologists have always been doing. The problem is that they have never systematized their methodology, not really, we think, because this methodology can not be systematized but because of a certain laziness, mixed sometimes with a belief in total reliance on inspired guessing. Not to mention a secret fear that the generalizations they make are undefensible. And they are indeed indefensible in so far as the critic cannot easily reduplicate the analyses to verify them because of the unavailability of the original field notes. If comparative Indo-European mythology has reached a certain level of assurance in its generalization, it is evidently because the critics can go back to the texts and satisfy themselves as to the relevance of the analyses. Too often in cultural anthropology, one's ability to judge a cultural generalization is limited to common sense, and maybe one's in depth knowledge of other cases which we think similar. What is lacking is a published body of descriptive texts to which analysis refers and to which a critic can look to judge its validity. We hope, under the next phase of this study, to develop not only the result of the process of analysis but also a set of "texts," edited field notes which could be used by further researchers to check their own research and criticize our own analysis.

In summary, the process of indexing involved the following steps:

1) Making up index entries labelled according to their obvious content from the point of view of the natives.

2) Duplicating the page on which the entry is found and filing this duplicate in a file labelled according to the category and numbered.

3) Adding to this rile any other page on which the original entry is recognizable.

The fourth step of summarizing the content of the files does not belong properly to this level of the process. It belongs to the level of analysis. It was necessary to refer to it, however, because it is only in the context of expecting to do such summaries that the details of the indexing process make sense.

In addition to these and other less prominant or less specified observational techniques, the study has made use of certain documents, including state legal codes of education, rules promulgated by state, federal and local jurisdictions, intra-school documents such as dress codes, student bills of rights and so forth. Fieldworkers interviewed members of the school population in more and less formally structured styles and settings at various points in the research.

It should be noted that in the communities whose schools were studied, field researchers were either full time residents or, in the case of Sheffield, team members were there every day and three nights a week each. In this way, we felt that the goals of participant observation might best be fulfilled by giving a natural setting and context to the research. While this study has concentrated on the social system of the schools, it is still important for the researchers to have had an informal experience of life within the communities studied. The division between school and community, school and the rest of the participants' lives, is largely arbitrary.

The field notes which were produced by the fieldworkers were reviewed by the team leaders and by the Project Director. Periodic meetings were held from which field notes were categorized for purposes of access and analysis. This process consisted basically of the formulation of an open ended list of surface categories by which the transcriptions could be cross-referenced.

## Group Meetings

Regularly scheduled meetings were also held after substantial field material had been gathered for the purposes of comparison between and among the members of the various field teams. These meetings became particularly frequent and intense at the end of the school year and for the four months following, as the teams attempted to produce some formal comparison. Results of this comparison work are dealt with elsewhere.

In the course of group work on comparison and analysis, the following processes were typical. There would be a presentation by one or more members of a topic, usually in the form of a working draft write-up of field material. This presentation would then be discussed by all members present, with the aim of a) sharpening the insights in the presentation, b) comparing the presentation with observations from the other field sites, and c) developing the analytic constructs with which to handle the material presented. Sometimes the presentation would consist entirely of descriptive or observational material; sometimes it would include anlaysis and more theoretical points. Both varieties have produced valuable results in the group interaction.

Consultants to the project attended these meetings from time to time, and their input proved especially valuable in sparking and encouraging further work. The regular visits of Howard Becker and Noel Chrisman, especially, occasioned intensive meetings. Here, very active discussions kept the project open and asking a variety of questions rather than falling into an "in-group" blindness or lethargy.

Another function of the group meetings, in addition to analysis and comparison, was to formulate integrated field plans. Through the interaction of the three field teams, members found the scope and thoroughness of their field examinations greatly increased. In addition, enough commonality was fostered in the highly idiosyncratic process of participant observation to permit reasoned comparison.

The second year of fieldwork proceeded uninterupted from our experience in the first year. After one year of fieldwork, we had some ideas about the social organization o the high school and a tentative framework for our analysis of our field data. We also decided to concentrate in our fieldwork on the urban high school since we had learned in the first year of fieldwork that with a school of 4,400 students, it was impossible to obtain anywhere near adequate coverage without the deployment of a larger number of fieldworkers. We also used as parameters for the field observation the major analytic categories which we had developed as a result of our first year experience. Primary among these were the three social domains which we felt described the basic social process as it operated in the high school. These are the sorting process, establishing and maintaining territoriality, and the making and breaking of rules. Sorting is the way in which individuals classify each other into categories and identifications. It is, of course, a universal operation in social institutions for individuals to distinguish classes among those with whom they interact. These classes may at any time be capable of more or less general application beyond the situation in which they have been established. Sorting takes place among students, by other students, by teachers, and by administrators. Similarly, teachers and administrators are sorted by members of each category including their own. Classifications may be as simple as "good students" or "bad students," "friendly" or "nasty" teacher, "jocks" or "freaks." Or, they may be less overt as in the case of "supportive" vs. "threatening" students. Sorting into categories such as these seems especially important where an individual can not know every other individual in a social field personally, and can not independently predict his action. Sorting does, however, take place across the gamut of social relations in the high school.

Territoriality is the breaking up and classifying of locales within the school. The division of the school from the "outside world" is the primary territorial demarcation of this social institution, but a number of others follow from and within it. In the schools, important territories may range from the claim of a group of students to a particular bench, the claim of students in general to a lounge, or the claim of a teacher to a classroom. Certain territorial bounds, as in the case of the teacher in the classroom, are functionally related to broad sorting categories. Others develop informally and produce a broad variety of function. An example is the use of a bathroom as a meeting place by students, a way in which to demonstrate their limited autonomy from the administration, and as a place of privacy. The definition of territory, then, is a symbolic demarcation in a structural system and as such is not unlike sorting. Instead of dividing people into categories, territory is divided into units. In the case of territory, however, there is the added dimension of competition over territory. Competition is often carried out in aggregates or among classes. For example, student challenges to a teacher's territorial right over a classroom are not simply between individuals (the teacher and a particular student) but are between the two classes "teacher" and "student" as well. In fact, if the dispute is carried far enough it will bring in to the conflict a third class "the administrators" who usually will side with the teachers. The students may also support the teacher's claim over that of the challenging student. Where the lines of demarcation are drawn becomes an interesting and revealing area for observation.

Often issues of sorting or territoriality are very closely related in the management of personal identity. In schools, there is a continual proliferation of rules. This proliferation may vary in rate or in sponsoring individuals, but schools are seldom without it. There is also a differential enforcement of rules. The difference may lie across categories, such as teacher or student, between different individual enforcers, or offenders, over time, or in different places. All the component factors which cause rules to be made in particular situations and to be enforced in particular situations provide clues to the organization of the school. Systems of rules have considerable inherent ambiguity. When any one rule is enforced by an individual or group against any other individual or group, one must look for the particular reasons. For example, in one of the high schools, lesson plans are formally required of all teachers on a regular basis. However, very few teachers regularly turn in their lesson plans. Very few of the vast majority who do not were ever reprimanded for having failed to turn in their lesson plans.

Sorting, territoriality, and the making and breaking of rules, represent, then, the structural elements we defined as establishing the parameters of social organization within the high school. The tripartite scheme seems to us to provide the best balance between the potential for dealing with a variety of different situations and simplicity and parsimony. The activities which constitute the source of each conceptualization are frequently easily observable. While some components of the system are more accessible than others, none is entirely hidden; all are meaningful categories to the members of the social system under study.

A major question, which we began investigating during the first year and which was a focal point during the second year of field observation was the question of what binds these three domains together. Studies of formal organization have traditionally made use of a number of coordinating or control mechanisms which "organize" the organization. Among these have been the hierarchical organization, the allocation of authority and responsibility which is usually described in the "organization chart," the explicitly stated positional roles or job descriptions, the codified rules and regulations which define behavior and relationships within the organization, the patterns of communication up and down which are defined by the hierarchical chart, and the allocation of resources throughout this hierarchical pattern. A similar set of explicitly described and defined control systems does not exist in examining social organization. Yet much of our fieldwork has been informed by the strong conviction that while "official action" is generally constrained and directed by the formal rational rules of an organization, within the high school the rules and statuses of the formal organization neither constrain nor explain the actions of individuals and of social groups within the high school. These largely informal patterns of relationship combine with the formal rules and statuses established within the high school to form what we have called "the charter." Thus, a constant series of negotiations between the emergent informal social action within the high school and the formally established policies determine the day to day behavior and the setting of parameters of acceptable-not acceptable behavior. The negotiation process is one in which challenges from a variety of sources are presented to the formal rules of the school. The administration of the school--whether represented by the principal and his staff for the entire school or by the teacher for the specific classroom--then must decide whether to "bend" the formal rule structure to allow some modification or invoke the rule structure and insist on compliance behavior. A great deal of what goes on within the school as a bounded area of social action is characterized by this process of challenge and response. Considered collectively, the activities eventually represent a charter for action which comes to be understood by most members of the social unit. Thus while the formal organizational structure of the school is fairly fixed, the charter, as we have defined it, is processual and represents the operational theory of actions which determines relationships between and among the members of the high school social system. It delineates the social structure of the high school as a socializing and educating institution and thus differentiates it from other institutional contexts.

A process of constant comparison and sequential analyses of data from the fieldwork. An important element of the system was the requirement that members of the research team be able to enter and find data in other team members' field notes. This problem, of course, is one which is common in field research involving more than one researcher. In our system, each field site team developed a list of native categories which were emergent from the field notes. Field notes were indexed according to these categories. Such categories were represented by events, places, issues, ideas or values, types of people, or actions.(See sample list of categories which follows this section). In addition, each team developed a list of preliminary analytic categories within which the native categories could be classified. This list provided us with some idea of how native categories in each of the field sites fit in to some common category relating the various field sites to a specific model of the social structure of the high school. Within each of the analytic categories we prepared extensive memo-summaries of the data from each of the field sites and then a summative description of the categorical behavior relating the activities found within each of the field sites. These memos served as the foundation for the theoretical analyses which were described earlier.

At the conclusion of the second year of fieldwork, then, we had available ethnographic descriptions of the three field sites and a series of comparative summaries of various social dimensions of the high schools which, taken collectively, define and describe the high school as a social institution. It was at this point that we began to develop specific strategies for dissemination of the findings. As we proposed in our initial application to the National Institute of Education, we saw our dissemination responsibilities as twofold. On the one hand, we felt the responsibility of reporting to colleagues in anthropology and education on the methodology and theoretical implications of the research. We have begun this process through a series of books, dissertations, journal articles, and panel presentations at a variety of professional society meetings. A full bibliographic citation on each of these works is included in the Appendix along with copies of some of the papers. At the same time, however, we felt that our commitment to the principal that educational research should have at least the clear potential for informing the decisions made by practitioners required the development of some means of shortening the temporal gap between knowledge production and knowledge utilization. Thus we chose to spend the remaining portion of the program period developing training materials for educators as a major means of disseminating the research results from our studies. The design of this training program represented a collective effort on the part of the field research team in (1) selecting from the field notes and research findings of the study those concepts and materials which we felt would be most valuable to educational decision makers; (2) developing a conceptual and curricular format which would make these materials both useful and interesting; (3) setting the materials within a problem solving framework since this is the essence of the decision making process; (4) field testing and assessing the materials with practicing educators; (5) refining and redesigning the materials as a self contained package.

The first step in this process was to review at a series of total staff meetings the research findings and concepts and the materials and to select from these those "products" which we felt had most immediate interest and utility for practitioners while at the same time providing a vigorous and valid approach to studying the high school as a social organization. To do this we reviewed as a group all of our summaries and selected from among those categorized notes (1) incidents, (2) field notes, and (3) methodological procedures which we felt would best describe the social organization of the high school. Initially, we selected ten areas of structural integrity within the social organization of the high school:

1. You can't teach me because. . . .
2. The One True Way of Learning
3. Contracts and Conflicts
4. Roles--Formal and Emergent
5. Bureaucratic and Organic Structures
6. My school is better than yours, administrative styles
7. Myth and ritual
8. Autonomy and Anonymity
9. School Size and Social Organization
10. Schools and Their Communities

From these ten, we narrowed the list down to three by combining some and by excluding others which we felt did not have the immediate impact which we felt was essential to a well-developed course program. We finally settled on a theoretical rationale which began by describing the study, its theoretical and methodological approach, and our own rationale for why it is important for practitioners in education to understand the high school as a social system. The basic principle here was that the process of problem solution in education requires a firm understanding of how to identify problems within the high school prior to attempting to apply some problem solving mode to the data. Problem solving in this sense is based upon the principle of problem identification in the ongoing daily life of the school. Here we established as an important guide the principle that education is a unique and complex field which can not be studied as an analogue of business or industry or government but has a unique field of social action which can be identified and subjected to observation and analysis with as much rigor as any other social field. From this flows the need to recognize that answers provided by anthropological research, regardless of the methodology, are usually going to be as complex and ambiguous as the questions raised by practitioners. In order to truly understand and reduce those questions to manageability, it is necessary that we as researchers first learn to see the world as practitioners do in order to understand the meanings of objects in their social field and to be able to identify the objects of central concern. Thus, throughout the materials we have attempted to establish points at which students using the materials can relate back to their own educational institutions. The basic curricular strategy which developed was to use the actual field notes themselves, unaltered except to change names of actors so as to insure anonymity to the three schools involved, as the basic source for the materials. In selecting these materials, we constantly sought subject matter which was intellectually rigorous, analytic, formalizable and yet teachable. We then organized the materials according to a scheme which we felt best followed the natural process of problem identification: starting with the macro- level study of the community and its high school as a total system, then shifting to the study of specific roles within the school and the behaviors attendent to those rules and finally selecting a series of problems which we felt could be identified in this process. The final design of the materials, the objectives and procedures involved, is outlined in the following table.

UNIT I

| Topic | Concepts | Objectives |
|---|---|---|
| Introduction | 1. Historical background<br>2. Characteristics of bureaucratic structures<br>3. Characteristics of organic structures<br>4. Sorting; territoriality; rule-making and rule-breaking (introductory material) | The student will discuss and utilize concepts presented in the Introduction to describe and differentiate a setting in terms of its bureaucratic and organic structures. |
| Formal and informal authority within the school | 1. Discrepancy between lines of authority on the organization chart and observed patterns of control and influence<br>2. Informal and formal communication channels--the control and relative power of each | Given an incident, identify formal and informal leaders and the sources and varying strengths of their power. |

| Topic | Concept | Objective |
|---|---|---|
| | 3. The sources of influence of informal leaders.<br>4. Overlap between formal and informal influence. | |
| Bureaucratic and Organic Influences on Sorting | 1. Contrast between interaction patterns in formal and informal settings.<br>2. Influence of bureaucratic characteristics on interaction patterns (sorting).<br>3. Influence of organic characteristics on interaction patterns (sorting).<br>a. organic residence<br>b. out-of-school activities<br>c. in-school activities<br>4. Influence of formal status of individuals and groups on sorting. | Using a school setting with which you are familiar, identify possible bureaucratic and organic influences on in-school sorting patterns. |
| Rules and the Manipulation of Rules | 1. Selective rule enforcement as a method of studying the social organization of the school.<br>2. The effect of the standards of performance applied to teachers on rules and enforcements applied to students.<br>3. Variety of enforcers leads to variety in enforcement. | Given an incident, describe selective rule enforcement and speculate why this occurred. |
| Bureaucracy and the Distancing of Responsibility | 1. Bureaucracy shifts responsibility for enforcement from the enforcer to the system. | [Identify, describe, discuss] instance in an incident in which the bureaucracy shifts responsibility for rule enforcement from the individual to the system. |
| Formal and Informal Specialization | 1. Discrepancy between formal job descriptions and actual jobs done. | Given an incident, distinguish between formal job functions and actual job functions. |

| Topic | Concept | Objectives |
|---|---|---|
| | 2. Extent to which interpretations of jobs lead to de facto policy making.<br>3. The process by which informal roles and forms of organization become formally incorporated into the structure of the organization. | |
| Rules: On Paper and In Practice | 1. Complete rule enforcement is impossible.<br>2. Patterns of differential rule enforcement can be related to the ways in which adults sort students into categories:<br>a. influence of personal relationship of rule-enforcer to rule-breaker<br>b. influence of student status<br>3. Necessity for rules which are not enforced:<br>a. contingency factors<br>b. to symbolize formal hierarchy | Given an incident, (1) identify three or more groups or categories; and (2) describe the patterns of differential rule enforcement which arise from relationships within the groups and individual characteristics.<br>Using a school setting with which you are familiar, identify one formal rule which is not enforced and [describe, discuss, analyze] the reasons for its non-enforcement. |
| Allocation of Space Within the School: Personal and Impersonal Dimensions | 1. Scheduling as bureaucratic allocation of territory<br>2. Bureaucratic and organic influences on scheduling<br>3. Personal v. impersonal scheduling, as it relates to size and power struggles | Given an incident, [identify, describe] the effects and possible effects of scheduling on the school's social organization. |
| Performance Standards for Teachers: Evaluation Procedures | 1. Formal and informal evaluations.<br>2. Relative importance of bureaucratic and organic influences upon control and assessment of teachers.<br>3. The response of the system to "problem" teachers. | Noting both formal and informal procedures, and the relative importance of each, describe the nature of teacher evaluation procedures in a school setting with which you are familiar. |

| Topic | Concept | Objectives |
|---|---|---|
| | 4. Control and assessment of teachers dependent on opinion climate in school and community. | Differentiate between assessment procedures applied to "new" and tenured teachers. |
| Formation of Organic Units Among Students | 1. Bureaucratic influences upon sorting procedures.<br>2. Organic influences upon sorting procedures--structurally based sorting patterns v. ideologically based sorting patterns.<br>3. Distinction between native and analytic categories.<br>4. Analysis of two student groups (Jocks and Freaks) showing characteristics of student sorting patterns. | Given an incident, (1) identify student groups; and (2) describe the bureaucratic and/or organic influences on their formation and maintenance. |
| Administrative Hierarchy and Specialization of Administrative Functions | 1. Administrative strategies for maintaining control.<br>2. The effect of outside influences on the social and hierarchical organization of the school.<br>3. Functional autonomy of other administrative personnel.<br>4. Principal's intrusion into autonomous domains of his staff. | Given an incident, [identify, describe, discuss, evaluate] the strategies employed by school administrators for maintaining control of the school.<br>Given an incident, [identify, compare, contrast] those individuals' actual autonomy to their formal status in the organization. |
| Programming: The Master Bureaucrat's Task and its Effects on School Life | 1. The purpose of the "tracking" system, and its effect on the social organization of the school.<br>2. The influence of programming upon sorting patterns of teachers and students.<br>3. The effect of size and complexity upon schedule efficiency.<br>4. Programming as it affects the bureaucratic/organic structure of the organization. | Using a school setting with which you are familiar, [identify, discuss, speculate, evaluate, analyze] the effect of scheduling on student and teacher territory and the social organization of the school. |

| Topic | Concept | Objectives |
|---|---|---|
| | 5. System wide mandates are ineffective unless alternative replacement mechanisms are provided. | |
| Influences on the School of External Rules | 1. Dependence on outside funding makes institution subject to external controls and influences.<br>2. Implementation of new programs as a revenue source as opposed to modification of the organizational structure due to emergent needs.<br>3. Effect of new programs on school organization. | Using a school setting with which you are familiar, (1) identify an external rule; and (2) describe the positive and negative nature of its influence. |
| Policy Making and Problem Solving | 1. Formal and informal policy-making bodies.<br>2. Roles of the formal policy-making bodies.<br>3. Control of principal augmented by insecure position of those beneath him in hierarchy.<br>4. Faculty meetings as policy-making bodies.<br>5. Administrative strategies for controlling faculty meetings.<br>6. Teachers may function as informal leaders in problem solving if results are fed through formal channels.<br>7. The teachers' union as a device for controlling teachers' input into school policy.<br>8. Formal channels for student policy-making.<br>9. Administrative undermining of student channels of policy-making.<br>10. Student apathy toward student policy-making.<br>11. Parents as policy-makers. | Given an incident involving teachers, administrators, and/or students, [describe, discuss, contrast, analyze] the formal and informal roles of each as policy makers and problem solvers. |

| Topic | Concept | Objectives |
|---|---|---|
| Merit and Standards: Performance Measures and Their Relation to Social Control | 1. Selective manipulation by principal of procedures and performance standards to maintain social control.<br>2. The Developmental Lesson Plan as the principal's strategy for social control<br>a. analysis of the principal's role as rule-enforcer<br>b. bureaucratic influences on merit standards and teacher evaluation<br>3. Teacher strategies for dealing with the DLP and principal's evaluations.<br>4. Principal's use of classical bureaucratic model to control the school's social organization.<br>5. Teacher's responses to principal as a rule-enforcer<br>6. Grades and reading scores as student performance standards.<br>7. Student performance standards as a means of social control. | Given an incident, discuss the pros and cons of several performance standards for social and quality control.<br>Given an incident, [identify, discuss, analyze] either teacher or student strategies for dealing with performance standards. |
| Other Rules and Enforcement Policie. | 1. Rules relating to the maintenance of order within the school building.<br>a. the principal as rule-enforcer of student behavior<br>b. principal control of mobility of teachers and students within the building<br>c. principal's authority over teacher and student attendance<br>2. The effect of program cards upon:<br>a. movement<br>b. sorting<br>c. clandestine territoriality | Using a school setting with which you are familiar, (1) identify rules and regulations; and (2) describe the way in which these rules influence the school setting.<br>Given an incident, [describe, compare, contrast] teacher and student strategies for dealing with school rules. |

| Topic | Concept | Objectives |
|---|---|---|
| | 3. The influence of school size on rule-enforcement.<br>4. Student and teacher strategies to deal with rules. | |
| Bureaucratic and Organic Influences on Sorting | 1. Multiple factors influencing sorting:<br>a. residence<br>b. ethnicity<br>c. scheduling<br>d. special programming<br>2. Size and impersonality of a school create a need for smaller, more manageable groups.<br>3. Influences on teacher sorting patterns. | Using a school group of your choice, [identify, discuss, compare, analyze] bureaucratic and/or organic influences on the group's sorting processes. |
| | UNIT II | |
| Introduction | 1. Definition and comparative analysis of the terms "status" and "role."<br>2. Definition of the term "role set."<br>3. Roles as complementary sets of expectations.<br>4. Distinction between formal and emergent roles.<br>5. Introduction to event analysis. | The student will utilize concepts of status and role to make an analysis of incidents presented in this unit. |
| Event Analysis | 1. Effect of administrative policies on teacher roles.<br>2. Seating arrangement as an indicator of participant roles.<br>3. The nature and manifestation of various formal and emergent roles as observed in this example. | Given an incident, create an event analysis diagram which indicates [specified, selected] individuals' status, formal role, and emergent roles. |

| Topic | Concept | Objectives |
|---|---|---|
| Role of the Principal | 1. Credentials and qualifications of the principal.<br>2. Acceptance by the local power structure.<br>3. Duties of the principal: delegation of functions.<br>4. Emergent roles--variation in the performance of duties.<br>5. Role variation due to individual personalities contrasted to that due to differing bureaucratic and organic structures.<br>6. General rights and duties of the role of principal. | Given the six major tasks of a principal, cite an example from a school setting with which you are familiar of (1) how a principal delegates these tasks; and (2) how this delegated power affects the social organization of the school. |
| Role of Administrators | 1. Assessment of credentials and local acceptance.<br>2. The role of "acting administrator."<br>3. General rights and duties.<br>4. Scheduling and space allocation as the control of space and time.<br>5. Department chairmen as overseers of instruction.<br>6. The mediation function of administrators.<br>7. Discipline and order-keeping.<br>8. Emergent roles:<br>a. gatekeeper<br>b. institution maintainer<br>c. expert bureaucrat<br>d. institution expert<br>e. ritual specialist | Given an incident, state the institutional effects which stem from an administrator's role as scheduler and space allocator.<br>Using a school setting with which you are familiar, [identify, describe, discuss, analyze] (1) administrators who perform one or more of the emergent roles listed; (2) the effect of administrators' emergent roles on the functioning of the school. |
| Roles of Teachers | 1. Teacher credentials.<br>2. Conflicting scales of merit.<br>3. Local acceptance--adapting to the system and amassing support.<br>4. General rights and duties of teachers.<br>5. Role of instructor determined by preferred method of instruction. | Given an incident, (1) identify teacher strategies in maintaining social distance from students; (2) describe behavior that is indicative of these strategies; and (3) explore the possible rationale underlying the behavior in terms of the bureaucratic structure of the school. |

| Topic | Concept | Objectives |
|---|---|---|
|  | 6. Social distance as it supports the bureaucratic structure of the school. | Use an example to show how the school or district guidelines for planning/instruction determine the role of the teacher. |
| Political Alliances and Corresponding Roles Among Teachers | 1. Sorting as a consequence of need to obtain autonomy.<br>2. Analysis of criteria for teacher sorting patterns.<br>3. Identification of main political groups in each school.<br>4. Analysis of specific political roles of teachers. |  |
| Teacher Roles Resulting From or In Response to Administrative Attitudes and Policies | 1. General roles of resistance to the administration.<br>2. General roles of response to the administration:<br>a. role of ritual specialist<br>b. role of paranoid teacher<br>c. role of teachers acting like students<br>3. Complementary role pairs, |  |
| Additional Emergent Roles of Teachers | 1. Cosmopolitans and locals.<br>2. Teachers by default.<br>3. Teachers as businessmen.<br>4. Hatchetmen and all-around policemen.<br>5. Community link. | Using a school setting with which you are familiar, (1) construct an event analysis chart of teacher roles; (2) use the completed chart as a starting point for your description of each role; and (3) speculate about the origins of each role. |
| Roles of Support Staff | 1. Analysis of the roles of the janitors in schools.<br>2. Role of the bus driver.<br>3. Gatekeepers: secretaries, clerks, security personnel, school aides.<br>4. Institution maintainers: principal's secretaries. | Using a school setting with which you are familiar, (1) construct an event analysis chart of support staff roles; (2) use the completed chart as a starting point for your description of each role; and (3) speculate about the origins of each role. |

| Topic | Concept | Objectives |
|---|---|---|
| Roles of Students | 1. Ambiguity of student's position.<br>2. Position of the student as an ascribed, not acquired, status.<br>3. Two types of student roles:<br>a. roles necessary from standpoint of the institution<br>b. roles developed in response to the institution | Using a school setting with which you are familiar, (1) construct an event analysis chart of student roles; (2) use the completed chart as a starting point for your description of each role; and (3) speculate about the origins of each role. |
| Roles of Specialized Personnel | 1. Multifaceted role of the school nurse.<br>2. Dual roles of the guidance counselor. | Using a school setting with which you are familiar, (1) construct an event analysis chart of specialized personnel roles; (2) use the completed chart as a starting point for your description of each role; and (3) speculate about the origins of each role. |

| INCIDENT | ANALYSIS? | RELATED INCIDENTS | SUGGESTED USES | RELATES TO OBJECTIVE # |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | X | | As a model for future student analysis of incidents. | 3, 4, 7, 12, 21, 32 |
| 2 | X | 20 | Directed discussion - whole class. | 6, 33 |
| 3 | X | 4, 5 | | 3, 5, 9, 12, 17, 21 |
| 4 | X | 3, 5 | Study assignment.<br>(Incidents 3, 4, 5) | 13, 14, 28 |
| 5 | X | 3, 4 | | 13, 14, 17 |
| 6 | X | | | 22 |
| 7 | | 8, 9 | | 2, 5, 16, 20, 21 |
| 8 | | 7, 9 | Directed discussion - small groups.<br>(Incidents 7, 8, 9) | 13, 14, 16 |
| 9 | | 7, 8 | | 13, 16 |
| 10 | X | | Role-playing. | 6, 14, 18, 19 |
| 11 | X | 13 | | 18, 19, 21 |
| 12 | | 16, 18 | | 25, 26 |
| 13 | X | 11 | | 18, 19, 28 |
| 14 | X | | Role-playing. | 18, 19 |
| 15 | X | 1 | Role-playing.<br>Directed Discussion - small groups. | 17, 21, 24 |
| 16 | | 12, 18 | | 10, 19, 25, 26, 29 |

| INCIDENT | ANALYSIS? | RELATED INCIDENTS | SUGGESTED USES | RELATES TO OBJECTIVE # |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 17 | X | 16 | | 6, 29 |
| 18 | | 12, 16, 27 | Study Assignment. | 13, 14, 15, 17, 21, 24, 25, 26 |
| 19 | X | 43 | | 12, 17, 18, 19 |
| 20 | | 2, 23 | | 3, 4, 31 |
| 21 | | | | 3, 15, 21 |
| 22 | | 20, 23, 24 | | 11, 13, 19, 20, 21 |
| 23 | | 22, 24 | Directed discussion - small groups. (Incidents 22, 23, 24) | 22, 28 |
| 24 | | 22, 23 | | 19, 20, 21, 28 |
| 25 | X | | Direction discussion - whole class. | 4, 8, 18, 19 |
| 26 | X | | | 9, 15 |
| 27 | X | 18 | | 6, 17, 29 |
| 28 | X | | | |
| 29 | X | | Directed discussion - whole class. | 4, 8 |
| 30 | X | | | 3, 12, 22 |
| 31 | X | | | 2, 4, 5, 6, 9 |
| 32 | X | 37 | Study assignment. | 4, 7, 22, 24, 31 |
| 33 | | 1 | Role-playing. | 4, 6, 13, 14, 27 |

| INCIDENT | ANALYSIS? | RELATED INCIDENTS | SUGGESTED USES | RELATES TO OBJECTIVE # |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 34 | X | | Test. | 28, 30, 32 |
| 35 | | 36, 37, 38 | | 7, 13, 14 |
| 36 | X | 35, 37, 38 | Directed discussion - whole class. (Incidents 35, 36, 37, 38) | 12, 22, 33 |
| 37 | | 32, 35, 36, 38 | | 3, 4 |
| 38 | | 35, 36, 37 | | 12, 22 |
| 39 | | 40, 41, 42 | | 10, 11, 17, 24 |
| 40 | | 39, 41, 42 | Study assignment or test. (Incidents 39, 40, 41, 42) | 10, 11, 17, 19, 24 |
| 41 | | 39, 40, 42 | | 10, 11, 17, 19, 24 |
| 42 | | 40, 41, 42 | | 17, 18, 19, 21, 24 |
| 43 | X | 19, 44 | | 4, 15, 20, 21 |
| 44 | | 43 | | 2, 6 |
| 45 | X | | | 19, 29 |
| 46 | | 47 | Directed discussion - small groups. (Incidents 46, 47) | 18, 19, 21 |
| 47 | X | 46 | | 18, 19, 21 |
| 48 | X | | | 8, 10, 11, 13, 19 |
| 49 | X | 50, 51 | Study assignment. (Incidents 49, 50, 51) | 4, 21 |

| INCIDENT | ANALYSIS? | RELATED INCIDENTS | SUGGESTED USES | RELATES TO OBJECTIVE # |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 50 | X | 49, 51 | | 4, 21 |
| 51 | | 49, 50 | | 4, 21 |
| 52 | | | | 30, 32 |
| 53 | | | | 30, 32 |

Once the first provisional set of materials had been developed, we field tested those materials with a class of administrators, teachers, and graduate students in the social sciences at Teachers College, Columbia University as a regularly scheduled 15-week course carrying graduate credit during the spring term of 1975. On the basis of this first field test, we redesigned the materials and held a second field test with a new group of students similar to (and in some cases the same individuals) as in the first field test. This second field test was held during the first six week summer session of 1975 at Teachers College, Columbia University. Some of the materials which eventually became parts of the assigned readings and the teachers' manual for the course materials were also tested in a faculty seminar for the department of Educational Administration which was held during the spring term of 1975. The rationale, proceedures and results of these field tests are presented elsewhere in this report.

At the conclusion of the field test the materials were redesigned and brought together as a complete instructional unit. In addition to the basic three unit set of materials themselves, they include a book of assigned and recommended readings, a teachers' manual, and a subsystem of ancillary and additional materials which attempt to relate the activity to the student's own educational setting. We propose that these materials can be used as a basic instructional module which can either stand alone as a graduate course or as a field-based workshop or can be incorporated into existing courses and, with some modification, can also be used as self-instructional materials.

## Native Categories for Sheffield High School

1. "paranoia" re: research
2. superintendent/principal relationship
3. superintendent/board relationship
4. principal/board relationship
5. faculty advisory council
6. student dress
7. faculty dress
8. innovations
9. the "times"
10. last year questionnaire
11. high school administration/faculty relations
12. team intervention
13. "typical" "suburbia" "middle-class"
14. Blacks (white island)
15. Teachers College
16. Vocational Education
17. Borough/Township relationship
18. Inter-school system relationships
19. Science Department
20. Social Science Department
21. Computer Educational Program
22. Board of Education
23. superintendent/community relations

24. sex education

25. students knocking on door of teachers' lounge

26. drugs

27. teachers/students relationship - friendship

28. " " " - discipline

29. teachers' perception of time schedule

30. profanity

31. teachers' perception of students - "kids are..."

32. Bureaucratic hassle - teachers

33. teachers' perception of students - tracking

34. cigarette smoking

35. powder puff game

36. intercom system

37. senior luncheon

38. radical political organizations

39. teachers' perception of community

40. New York City

41. teachers' perception of students - peer information

42. Wasp

43. yearbook

44. Democrats/Republicans

45. teachers' lounge

46. English Department

47. Cafeteria - Commons- Description

48. " " - Discipline

49. physical description
50. corridors (behavior in)
51. teaching of values
52. philosophy and methods of teaching
53. Mathematics Department
54. students' perception of community
55. students and colleges
56. rule breaking
57. student tastes
58. student intergrades interrelationship
59. "senior privileges"
60. secretaries' perception of students
61. "jocks" vs. "freaks" ("lungs"): lifestyles segregation
62. student male/female segregation
63. Commons: Fights (physical)
64. Commons: Food Fights
65. the Sheffield policemen
66. students' perceptions of teachers
67. "broken homes"
68. womens lib
69. new scheduling
70. student parties
71. fire drills
72. out of school hangouts
73. where kids go outside of school

74. what kids do outside of school

75. student jobs out of school

76. teacher perception of: student transfers from class to class

77. teacher-teacher relationships outside school

78. convening room

79. pre-holiday behavior

80. teachers' perception of rules re: teachers leaving early

81. teacher verbally protects student

82. student teachers

83. T.V. programs

84. sports

85. homosexuality

86. students: committing crimes

87. student behavior out of doors near commons window

88. graduate course at SHS

89. (open)

90. teacher talk: specific good/bad students

91. students who are children of important people in town

92. job of class president

93. janitors

94. Homecoming: floats

95. Homecoming: Fall Court

96. Homecoming: Queen

97. cars

98. Career Day Program: speakers topic: College Yes or No?

99. assembly: teacher behavior

100. assembly: student behavior

101. "booze"

102. teacher-student trips abroad

103. students attempts to fool teachers

104. "When you grow up..."

105. haunted house

106. study halls: physical description

107. study halls: teacher behavior

108. study halls: student behavior

109. student classroom behavior

110. teacher classroom behavior: teaching content, discipline

111. classrooms: physical description

112. school budget

113. cafeteria food

114. commons: seating patterns

115. "because I am (was) a new teacher..."

116. music: rock concerts

117. opinions on who knows what goes on in school

118. administrations' knowledge of students

119. the welcome desk

120. Sheffield Teachers Association: (1) attitudes toward
(2) meetings

121. teacher attitude toward class size

122. Sophomore Mothers "coffee" meeting (PTO)

123. teacher perceptions of parent-school relations

124. teacher perceptions of Dr. Gebhardt

125. report cards

126. guidance department

127. Mr. Chevalier's "on the run" behavior

128. attendance

129. parent attitudes toward individualized instruction

130. principal/parents relationship

131. Dr. Gebhardt: rumors

132. principal's attitude toward the students

133. the "outside world"

134. soccer team

135. principal attitudes toward teachers

136. testing program

137. psychological services

138. state assessment program

139. parent attitude toward gym

140. the lawsuit

141. Foreign Language Department

142. teacher/board relationships: salary negotiations, contract, etc.

143. teacher talks re: other teachers

144. male/female jokes

145. violence

146. "behavioral objections": an innovation

147. teacher perceptions of the H.S.

148. faculty diningroom: attitudes toward, physical description, action
149. faculty: male/female segregation
150. Chatterbox
151. teacher attitudes toward individualized instruction
152. guidance department office as hangout
153. cheating
154. lack of physical space
155. Physical Education Department
156. Eskiettes
157. "agree to disagree" vs. "agree to agree" to avoid arguments
158. school dance
159. student networks of friends
160. students' perceptions of student cliques or not (labels for student groups)
161. students' perceptions: girls differ from boys in social behavior
162. cheerleaders
163. twirlers
164. color guard
165. pep club
166. theft in school
167. football team
168. student perceptions of school
169. student perceptions of changing trends
170. basketball team
171. student/parent relationships
172. "Who's Who" in Yearbook

173. boys' bathroom
174. students and sex
175. media room
176. student activities center
177. business club
178. (open)
179. places to study in the school
180. library
181. architect's study of school
182. swimming pool study
183. Jaycees
184. private swim clubs
185. open campus
186. summer activities (students)
187. students' perception of parents' social life
188. smoke bombs, fires, and firecrackers in school
189. student "involvement" in school activities/apathy
190. school "unity"; school "spirit"
191. Sheffield newspapers
192. student "peer pressure"
193. "troublemakers" vs. "good kids": student reputations
194. administration's perception of students - peer information
195. principal's perception of community
196. school/police relationships
197. senior rituals (on last day of school and other days)

198. "privacy of the classroom" vs. open space

199. superintendent/student relationship

200. high school alumni

201. industrial arts department

202. teacher attitude toward: male vs. female students

203. Thanksgiving assembly

204. Drama Department

205. teachers/janitors relationships

206. students: male-female encounters

207. teachers not aware of school rules

208. students/janitors relationships

209. administration and teachers have student informers: students play role of intermediate between adults and kids

210. student territoriality - e.g. adults "fade into woodwork"

211. girls' bathroom

212. when the school seems quiet or chaotic

213. AFS students

214. Health Education

215. nurses

216. exams

217. adults spy on students

218. administration: disciplining students

219. role of assistant principal

220. behavior permitted for students but not adults

221. behavior permitted for adults but not students

222. STAC (meetings)

223. students vs. teachers: who gets what? allocation of resources

224. student council

225. teachers as allies to students

226. student perceptions of board of education

227. legal responsibilties of the school system: who is responsible for what?

228. discipline

229. student hiding places in the school

230. varsity club

231. students help each other with schoolwork

232. female teacher attends to personal grooming in front of students

233. fieldworkers' analyses: random

234. hockey team

235. senior projects

236. PTO (Parents-Teachers Organization)

237. teacher/parent relationships

238. description of parents

239. assistant principal/parent relationships

240. physical fights between students

241. assistant principal/student relationships

242. religion

243. Art Department

244. Business Ed. Department

245. Driver Ed. Department

246. Health Department
247. Home Economics Department
248. Music Department
249. All music activities
250. American Field Service
251. Assemblies
252. Audio Visual Aid
253. Boys' Athletic Association (varsity club?)
254. Chess Club
255. Ecology Club
256. Dramatics and Debate
257. Economics - Investment
258. Electrical Stage
259. French Club
260. Future Homemakers of America
261. German Club
262. Guidance
263. Girls' Athletic Association
264. Junior Red Cross
265. Latin Club
266. Library Council
267. Math Club
268. National Honor Society
269. Parking Committee
270. Radio Club

271. Ski Club

272. Spanish Club

273. Student Activities

274. Freshman Class Organization

275. Sophomore Class Organization

276. Junior Class Organization

277. Senior Class Organization

278. (open)

279. Main Office

280. assistant principal/teacher relations

281. people related to each other: e.g. students and board members, janitors and policemen, etc.

282. Dating

283. 18 year old rights; student rights

284. Christmas events

285. general shop class

286. Mechanical Drawing

287. music playing in classes

288. girls locker room

289. students who "do their own thing" in school

290. students and teachers doing fieldwork or helping in project

291. economics class - 6th period

292. students have accidents in school

293. students (not) having specific privileges in the school due to a special role (who they are) they have: e.g. as a good kid

294. faculty apathy/involvement in school activities

295. knowledge of secretaries about what happens in the school

296. students going into the military

297. student/principal relations

298. 6th period girls' gym class

299. the Viet Nam War

300. teacher concern for teacher peer approval

301. student friendships or lack of friendships with people from other schools

302. substitute teachers

303. parents' attitudes toward high school

304. attitudes toward independent study

305. calendar in front of main office

306. politics in general; world news

307. subject of art

308. teacher evaluations

309. CTA calendar issue

310. job of student council president

311. students travelling

312. tri-district in service meetings

313. girls' athletic events

314. administration/janitors relationship

315. janitors' perception of community

31[illegible]. discipline cycles

317. peer teaching

318. teasing fieldworker because of absence from school

319. senior dinner and prom
320. 7th period accounting class
321. Literary Journal Club
322. 1st period art class
323. 2nd period speed reading class
324. 7th period Voch. Ed. Rock Poetry class
325. teachers bringing siblings or other guests into the school
326. student/board relations
327. introduction program for 8th graders
328. field trips
329. formal role of a teacher
330. McDonald's controversy
331. teacher territoriality
332. 2nd period clothing I class
333. 3rd period pastry and deserts class
334. 4th period culinary arts class
335. 5th period culinary arts class
336. nurse's office
337. new courses
338. Project Friend
339. 1st period psych. class
340. where students live
341. teacher/cafeteria staff relations
342. waiting behavior
343. student careers

344. 2nd period English Lyric Poetry class

345. 7th period German III class

346. teachers' salaries: merit committee

347. students under pressure of work and commitments in school

348. values of students

349. role of principal

350. Rotary Club award

351. Bell Awards

352. academics

353. track team

354. great swamp

355. winter sports award

356. International Language Club banquet

357. campus life

358. PRRF

359. Photography

360. tennis team

361. Devil's Triangle

362. staff parties

363. community/school relations

364. paraprofessionals

365. weight lifting

366. The Chat

367. the judiciary committee

368. students doing volunteer work

369. visiting British students
370. golf team
371. commons committee
372. executive council
373. teachers playing sports in school
374. rock club

500. non-school talk among teachers
501. Curriculum Coordinators
502. United Fund
503. Sheffield/state relationship
504. fund raising
505. student-teacher conference
506. students who are problems - as seen by administrators
507. teachers who live in Sheffield
508. free days
509. senior lounge
510. student switching classes
511. freshman orientation
512. going to college
513. faculty meeting
514. French IV
515. low History II
516. teachers' perceptions of sexual differences among students
517. Homecoming Queen Elections Assembly

518. English Composition 12

519. independent study

520. humor class

521. work strategies

522. advanced History 12

523. jokes and remarks about teaching and work in school

524. attitude towards student privacy

525. sports

526. college conferences

527. History I

528. teachers' views of students - intellectual capacity and personality
"Students are..."

529. general perception of themselves

530. Literature of Sports

531. teachers' perceptions of courses ("fun")

532. cafeteria duty

533. Enlgish composition 9

534. teaching strategies

535. 19th century literature 12

536. New York

537. students who are permitted to do what they want

538. students' perception of teaching

539. cafeteria staff

540. Advanced History 11th grade - 1st period

541. students' opinions of teachers' duties and performance

542. teachers' attitudes towards mini-courses
543. teachers talking about teaching methods and school policies
544. political identification among students and teachers
545. obvious pairing and petting in school
546. German V - 1st period - 12th grade
547. German III, 2nd period
548. Students helping to teach
549. job of "coordinators"
550. "Because I am a H.S. teacher" - definition of job
551. tests and exams
552. disagreement over teaching philosophies
553. getting to know students
554. superintendent/teacher relationship
555. German IV - 6th period - 12th grade
556. senior projects
557. the importance of belonging to organization
558. being a person
559. being better than everybody else
560. the difficulty of making friends
561. being sick
562. student council classes
563. homerooms
564. the meaning of electing representatives
565. what is bad for kids, psychologically
566. student elections

567. nurses aides
568. the use of first or last names
569. perception of commons
570. perceptions of independent study
571. to date or not to date - boy friends
572. Business English, 9th period - 10-11 grade
573. individualized instruction
574. typing, 3rd period
575. the room at the back of the library desk
576. not being middle class in Sheffield
577. gossip among students
578. French, 4th period, 11th grade
579. sharp exchanges between students
580. walking the halls during class time
581. teacher attitudes towards students walking the halls during class time
582. the coke machine by the girls' gym
583. steno 7th period
584. fishing club .
585. the release of the freshman class
586. the philosophy of disciplining - positive/negative
587. student/teacher relationship - joking with each other
588. change of student behaviors from 1st to 7th period
589. being paid twice a month/once monthly
590. perception of what students should know
591. competitive relationship with township h.s.

592. teeny bopper - doing the h.s. thing
593. being liberal
594. being a sophomore
595. being smart
596. the junior year
597. working hard
598. Jesus movement
599. how hard it is without friends
600. the meaning of having friends
601. students studying
602. individualized instruction
603. chemistry
604. grades
605. coaches
606. senior lounge
607. "relatives"
608. teacher's out of school activities
609. Catholic Youth Organization
610. card playing
611. audio-visual program
612. scheduling
613. gym
614. "third floor"
615. winter ball
616. assistant principal's perception of community

617. weather

618. drama room exit

619. student lexicon

620. student messengers for office

621. office phones - intercom system

622. 3rd period drama class

623. pregnancy

624. 5th period speech class

625. announcements

626. student participation in academic programs outside of high school

627. dating behavior

628. cross-country

629. bowling

630. stage crew

631. student lockers

632. auditorium

633. health room

634. cafeteria gangs

635. teacher's life history

636. students painting the school

637. coffee house

638. students' perceptions of time

639. students on their personal philosophy

640. nucleonics class

641. academic awards

642. 2nd period art class

643. 3rd period art class

644. athletic awards

645. Sheffield newspapers

646. hockey bus

647. cafeteria music

648. art major's class

649. Christmas assembly gifts

650. varsity club banquet

651. other adults' perceptions of cafeteria

652. trashing

653. students in school after it closes

654. parent dress

655. music room

656. band

657. cafeteria parties

658. CYO

659. AV room

660. faculty/janitors relationship

661. 7th period health

662. 18 year old rights

663. Christmas assembly

664. students' perceptions of community

701. talking politics
702. tag day
703. homosexuality
704. cutting class

# FINDINGS

(See STUDENT MANUAL, INSTRUCTORS' MANUAL, READINGS)

## SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE HIGH SCHOOL:
## EVALUATION REPORT

The evaluation of Social Organization of the High School (SOHS) is based on data collected during two separate field tests [Test 1 and Test 2] conducted under the auspices of the Department of Educational Administration, Teachers College, Columbia University, from January through June, 1975. Each field test consisted of a graduate course in Educational Administration called "Social Organization and Administrat[illegible]n."

### Length of Tests

Test 1 consisted of a class that met for two hours once a week for 14 weeks [January 23 through May 8], for a total of 28 hours; the class for Test 2 met for two hours twice a week for 6 weeks [May 20 through June 26], for a total of 24 hours.

### Objectives

The primary objective of both Test 1 and Test 2 was to determine the extent to which SOHS[1] was ready for use by the target population--educational administrators, educational researchers, and teachers--by using two small samples from the population as judges as well as subjects.

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[1] Note that SOHS refers to the entire instructional package.

There were, of course, instructional objectives as well, but a serious effort to implement them was made only in Test 2, inasmuch as Test 1 was more of a preliminary try-out than a full-scale field test. The overall objectives of the course of instruction are given below; more detailed behavioral objectives geared to each unit of SOHS are stated elsewhere [Appendix A].

Overall Objectives

A. After working through these units, one should be able to identify the rules of behavior specific to any school which one observes, in the following manner:

(1) Starting with discrete episodes of behavior, the social constraints influencing interpersonal interactions are identified and distinguished from the purely idiosyncratic content of the interaction.

(2) The patterns of behavior which are inferred from individual episodes are progressively checked against other episodes and against the total knowledge available about the school. Thus, an idea of the pervasiveness of the pattern as well as of the exceptions and deviations from the pattern is established.

(3) Identified patterns of behavior are related to the larger structural characteristics of the school, such as size, formal organization, and the relation of the school to the community it serves.

(4) If possible, the identified patterns of behavior then serve as guides towards predicting the impact on the school and the

feasibility of various policies and strategies for change and problem-solving.

B. Having identified the specific patterns of behavior in more than one school, one should be able to formulate a comparative analysis of some sector of activity, e.g. programming, curriculum, classroom organization, in two or more schools.

## Samples

The sample for Test 1 consisted of 21 male and female graduate students of Educational Administration, Special Education, Higher and Adult Education, Curriculum and Teaching, Applied Linguistics, and Science Education. They ranged in age from the early twenties to the mid-fifties. The sample for Test 2 consisted of 32 male and female graduate students who were of the same age range as Sample 1 and who also came from essentially the same major fields. The names, present or former positions, and major fields of the subjects in both Test 1 and Test 2 are included in this report [Appendix B].

## Instructional Staff

Francis A. J. Ianni, the project director, served as the principal instructor. Other project personnel were occasionally brought in on an "as-needed" basis.

## Evaluation Instruments

### Test 1

The instrument consisted of a set of guidelines [Appendix C1] used by the students in the preparation of written critiques of both the discussions in class and the written materials ["handouts"] prepared by the project staff. Students were required to write a critique of each handout as well as one of the course as a whole. Critiques of the lectures and class discussions were optional.

### Test 2

The instrument used consisted of a similar set of guidelines [Appendix C2] used in the preparation of critiques. Apart from the different form used, there were also the following differences: (1) no critique of the discussions was solicited; (2) a critique of the course as a whole was not required. In addition, a final examination [Appendix C3] was given, and the students' reactions to the assigned readings were recorded.

In both cases, the evaluator was present at every class meeting. He was responsible for collection of the critiques and transmittal of their contents to the project personnel. The critiques, as well as informal observations made by the evaluator and the instructional staff, formed the basis for revision of SOHS.

## Results

### Test 1

In Test 1, the students were not asked to read and criticize anything other than the two sets of handouts written by the project staff. Appendix D1 consists of the school descriptions originally given to the students; the school descriptions in the current form of SOHS reflect their criticisms and suggestions for revision. Appendix D2 consists of a unit called "You Can't Teach Me Because. . . ." as originally written. The corresponding unit, again reflecting the students' critiques, is called "Sorting, Territoriality, and Autonomy" in the most recent form of SOHS. The following also resulted from Test 1: (1) the abandonment of grounded theory[2] as a pedagogical technique, since Test 1 showed that it does not work very well, given the demands for more structure in the course, more theoretical and methodological readings either in advance of, or concurrent with, the presentation of any material from the three schools, less non-directiveness on the part of the instructional staff, and progression from the general to the particular, rather than the reverse; (2) the adoption, in Test 2, of several recommendations made by the students and staff during, and immediately after, Test 1. These recommendations were:

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[2] Grounded theory states that one must proceed inductively from one's raw data, i.e., one should collect the data without reference to theory initially, and allow the data to suggest testable hypotheses that are checked against the data already at hand and the data one is about to collect, rather than proceeding deductively with the theory such that data are collected with the purpose of testing hypotheses generated by the theory.

(a) Proceed deductively, rather than inductively. Grounded theory may well be excellent in research--its utility as a pedagogical device is practically nil. In connection with this, it might be helpful to reverse the order of the three units, i.e., to begin with "Bureaucratic and Organic Structures," proceed to "Formal and Emergent Roles," and end with "Sorting, Territoriality, and Autonomy."

(b) Prepare a more extensive reading list, and require that the articles and excerpts be read in order.

(c) Specify a set of training objectives and prepare a series of exercises to determine if the training objectives are met.

Test 2

Although the class indicated that some revisions needed to be made in the materials (including the descriptions of the three high schools involved, which had already been revised), there was no opportunity to effect the recommendations. The criticisms made have been transmitted to the project staff, however, and if the opportunity (especially the requisite funds) presents itself,it would be possible to implement most of the suggested changes. (The criticisms made with respect to the assigned readings have already been implemented.) With respect to the examination administered to students, the results suggest that the instructional objectives have been substantially met. The instructor, one of the writers, and the evaluator all served as raters (independently of each other) and reached essentially the same conclusions with respect to the success of the instructional program. Two representative examination papers are included [Appendix E].

## Recommendations

(a) Conduct several additional field tests, using the entire set of materials. Neither Test 1 [which used only the school descriptions and "You Can't Teach Me Because . . ."] nor Test II [which used only the school descriptions, "Bureaucratic and Organic Structures," "Formal and Emergent Roles," and a much curtailed reading list] constituted an adequate field test.

(b) Conduct the additional field tests at different sites. The two samples used may very well have been representative [but not randomly chosen] of one geographic stratum of the population, but they were certainly neither randomly chosen from, nor even representative of, other strata of the population, geographic or otherwise.

(c) Conduct the additional field tests with different instructional personnel. There is, at present, no evidence that the course is transportable, nor that the materials are self-contained.

(d) Prepare an accessing system for the raw field notes. Given an adequate index to them, they would constitute an invaluable data bank for researchers not already familiar with them. At present, only the project personnel know how to locate the field notes they need.

## CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

While the objectives of this phase of the research program were product rather than knowledge oriented, there are a number of interesting generalizations which emerged in all three schools:

### 1. School Size as a Factor in Socialization

One of the most frequent factors which surfaced throughout the year as we compared field notes from the three schools was the effect of size on the socialization process in the schools. Sheridan, which was far larger than either Sheffield or Green Valey, seems to be a qualitatively different social environment from the other two schools as much as a result of its size as its urban location. In both of the other schools, for example, the sorting process operates as it does elsewhere in society as a mechanism for categorizing individuals into convenient "groupings" to reduce the effort required to discriminate among numbers of individuals. In both Green Valley and Sheffield, this process centers around behavioral characteristics ("jocks," "freaks," "good students," etc.) At Sheridan, however, there are so many students that only gross sorting into racial groupings seems operative. Thus, Chinese students are "good" students while Black students are not. Similarly, school size seems to have some effect on the socialization process itself as it operates within the school. In each of the schools we found that there are a variety of socialization patterns involving different levels and segments of the school population. While it is customary to speak of the socialization of the students, it is, of course, a transactional function since teachers are socialized to the school, to the adult networks and to students as well. Once again we found that at Sheridan, because of its size, the socialization function is at once more restricted--that is, subunits within the school rather than the school itself serve as the environmental base for socialization--and yet the pressures for conformity for teachers is stronger since physical security is a much stronger force here. There are enough other characteristics of size that, although the structural differences between small schools and big schools have been described in other literatures, we feel that an important focus for the second period of field work should be the question of optimal size groups for a variety of teaching, learning, value orienting, socialization structuring and similar groupings. The following dimensions seem pertinent:

a. number of students
b. budget of school
c. complexity
    1. organizational structure
    2. number of communities students were drawn from
    3. external complexity--how it is part of a district
d. number of square miles of district
e. feeder schools--number and size
f. population density
g. staff size and role patterns

h. average class size

i. scheduling complexity

j. course offerings

    1. hierarchical by level

    2. lateral by course variety

2. The "Culture" of the High School

When we first undertook this research program, we hypothesized that "there are within the typical high school two distinct cultures, that of the adults and that of the youth and that the dissonance between these cultures is at the heart of the failure of the high school." Further, we made the assumption that "the discovery of mediation points between these two cultures is an important area for further research." As a result of our field experience, we now feel convinced that the "two cultures" notion is an appealing but inaccurate view of the social structure of high schools, at least of the three high schools we have been observing. We have found that the concepts of individual resources and resource negotiation as they operate in classical exchange theory better describe what we have seen as operative in the schools. The structure of the school determines the ability of any one person within that school--whether adult or child--to negotiate his role within that system. Thus, as we illustrated elsewhere, students negotiate a role for themselves in relation to other students, to teachers, and, in general, to all of the activities of the school. In Sheffield, where individualized instruction has become an important school goal, this process is most visible in classroom situations where the student is expected to negotiate an individual "contract" with the teacher, thus changing the classroom process from a continuing, informal, group to teacher negotiation to a formal one-to-one negotiation. As a result, the mediation points between student and teachers seem not to involve conflicting adult-child cultures and are less subject to group processes and more oriented to individual performance schedules.

## 3. Structural Dimensions of the High School

Throughout the three years of field work, it became increasingly obvious that the usual dimensions of school structure--adult-child, administration, teaching staff, students and community, curriculum, teaching, and so on--are not appropriate as categories within which to examine the social organization of the high school. From the field experience we developed three dimensions--sorting, territoriality and rule making and rule breaking --as behavioral foci through which social organization can be examined. As we indicated earlier, these dimensions operate within the school to organize behavior and it is within them that mediation points may be found. Again, these are negotiation points centering around individual resources of teachers and students. Thus, a student "sorted" as a "good student" is differentially allowed to negotiate both territorial rights and his adherence to the formal and informal rules of the school.

## 4. The Rule Structure of the High School

One of the most promising areas for further investigation is the rule structure of the high school. In all three schools we were able to identify the "charter" of the school, those formal rules and directives which eminate from federal and state regulations and guidelines, administrative directives, teachers' contract negotiations, in effect, all of the behavioral requirements imposed on the school. We found that this charter is in many ways a latent set of rules and that there is no group in the school, not students, not teachers, and not even administrators that sees it as operationally effective. Generally, it operates as a repository of authority and we found numerous examples in each of the schools where this charter is ignored, superseded or adapted to fit the reality of the school. If this charter is considered the authority structure of the school, then an interesting question is what is the opposing structure of rules which mediates it so as to establish the parameters of acceptable/not acceptable behavior. There are a number of ideological domains from which this "counter charter" seems to be drawn. To some extent it comes from community pressures, at least in Green Valley and in Sheffield. At Sheridan, despite its location in a highly volatile community where educational issues are paramount, its administrative separation from the local community school board and the dispersion of its feeder schools insulates and isolates it from the community. The counter-charter also comes from youth culture, from teacher militancy, from a sense that the day-to-day life of the school is not easily subject to regulation and regularizing and a number of other counter pressures. In all three schools there is an observable process by which the charter is renegotiated on an almost daily basis. Behavior is allowed to drift from the charter requirements until some crisis, some new issue or some conflict arises and then the administration of the school has a "charter crack-down," attempting to re-establish the authority structure. Yet, there are also numerous examples of where this re-imposition of authority was unsuccessful because behavioral standards had "drifted" too far from the charter to be re-directed. In the next period of field work, we plan to identify this "counter charter" in terms of its origins and operation. We are hypothesizing that this behavioral structure is the school equivalent of myth and ritual and that it can be subject to the same analytic processes once it has been identified.

## Recommendations

1. After three years of field experience, we are convinced that the use of field work perspectives and methodologies is an important and promising approach to the study of schools and of education. Moreover, we feel that this perspective will provide an important new dimension for both the study of education and for the preparation of educators.

2. In our own field experience and as a result of reviewing the work of others, we continue to sense that methodological and conceptual knowledge in the area of anthropology and education is in need of considerable development. Thus, we propose to continue with the development of the conceptual glossary (part of which has been included in this report) and to further develop our field manual both as a basis for replication studies and as a methodological introduction for educators.

3. One of the unanticipated side effects of the first year of study, and one which persisted in diminishing degree throughout the program, was some experience with the problems as well as the promise of team research in the anthropological study of schools. Team research has not been a frequent mode in anthropology and the problems of distinctive styles and individual

problem orientation deserve some special analysis. Specifically, we plan to prepare some specific protocols on such problems for dissemination as part of the field manual.

4. On the basis of the evaluation of the training materials, a number of recommendations were made by the evaluator as well; they are:

(a) Conduct several additional field tests, using the entire set of materials. Neither Test 1 [which used only the school descriptions and "You Can't Teach Me Because . . ."] nor Test II [which used only the school descriptions, "Bureaucratic and Organic Structures," "Formal and Emergent Roles," and a much curtailed reading list] constituted an adequate field test of the total system as a complete unit. Since there were different students in each of the field tests, there is no experience with the total system with the same class.

(b) Conduct the additional field tests at different sites. The two samples used may very well have been representative [but not randomly chosen] of one geographic stratum of the population, but they were certainly neither randomly chosen from, nor even representative of, other strata of the population, geographic or otherwise.

(c) Conduct the additional field tests with different instructional personnel. There is, at present, no evidence that the course is transportable, nor that the materials are self-contained.

(d) Prepare an accessing system for the raw field notes. Given an adequate index to them, they would constitute an invaluable data bank for researchers not already familiar with them. At present, only the project personnel know how to locate the field notes they need.

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